

We Proceeded On

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation / www.lewisandclark.org

November 2008 Volume 34, No. 4

Fur Trapping and the Corps of Discovery



KARL BODMER, BEAVER HUT ON THE MISSOURI, ENGRAVING WITH AQUATINT, HAND-COLORED (VIGNETTE XVII) COURTESY OF JOSLYN ART MUSEUM, OMAHA, NEBRASKA

Contents

President's Message: Trail is at the heart of our focus on the future

2

Letters: A motive for Lewis's murder; the Experiment

4

The Life of John Colter

Better known for his exploits after the expedition, Colter's heart remained in the West he explored with the Corps of Discovery
By Larry E. Morris

6



Colter's Race, p. 7

Moonlighting on the Lewis and Clark Expedition

In the early days of the expedition, Corps of Discovery members realized trapping was a lucrative industry
By Jim Hardee

16



American beaver, p. 17

John Newman: "A Man of Uncommon Activity and Bodily Strength"

"Mutinous" activity put an early end to his service with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but he later enjoyed a successful fur trade career in the shadow of their 1804-1805 winter encampment
By Richard K. Stenberg

24

Dispatches

Brooke to serve as president in 2008-2009; three elected to board of directors; awards at 40th annual meeting recognize and honor members' achievements

30

Annual Meeting

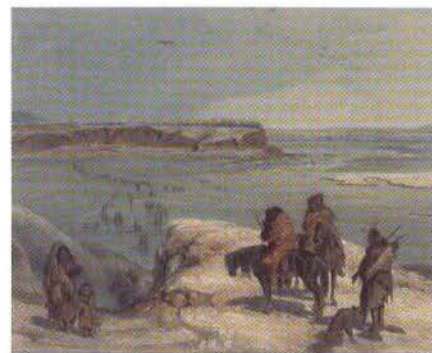
Foundation headquarters, Portage Route Chapter host 40th annual meeting

34

Soundings

Native Voices Endowment announces first five awards

36



Fort Clark, p. 27

On the cover

Artist Karl Bodmer depicted beaver and their lodge on July 17, 1833, on his way up the Missouri River from Fort Union to Fort McKenzie. Swiss-born Bodmer was engaged by Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian specifically to provide a record of his travels in North America, principally among the Plains Indians.



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President's Message

Trail is at the heart of our focus on the future

I love this trail! It's why I became a Foundation member in the first place. The trail has meant so much to my family over the years. In fact, we're a closer family because of it. I became a Foundation member when I saw a fellow in a convenience store in Fort Benton, Montana, wearing a vest with the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation logo. Later I learned that man was Ron Laycock, a former president of this Foundation. I "Googled" the name I saw on Ron's vest and immediately became an LCTHF member through the Web site. That was six years ago, and I have enjoyed my membership immensely ever since.

I bet there are many of you reading this column who have a similar story about how you became a Foundation member, and how you encouraged others to join. The trail offers so much: a fantastic story, beautiful scenery, a history rich with legacies and fun anecdotes, strong links to our Native American heritage and more. The trail represents a true common bond for all of us.

So, it is with a **... being on the trail ... literally** humble but passionate heart that I assume **changed the direction of my life.** the office of president

of the Foundation's board of directors. The trail is an important *national* treasure. Our Foundation vision statement is clear and unfettered: to provide "national leadership as keepers of the story, stewards of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail ..." I view this as no less important to our country than the mission of the Corps of Discovery. They accomplished their mission. Our sacred duty now is to ensure their legacy is preserved and nurtured for all who follow us.

We have been so fortunate this past year to have Karen Seaberg as our president to guide us in placing the Foundation on solid legal and financial footing. From the development of

new chapter charters to renewing our partnership with the National Park Service and actively participating in our Third Century Campaign, Karen worked tirelessly to ensure



Brooke

our actions were done correctly and in accordance with our by-laws. Having worked closely with Karen the past two years on the board, I can say that she loves this trail passionately. I am grateful she will be on our board for another year as past-president. Thank you, Karen—from all of us—for your service. I know I have very large shoes to fill!

As we enthusiastically enter the Third Century since the Corps of Discovery, it is important to consider where we need to go from here. During my term as president, I will focus like a laser on the four major elements that make our Foundation a success

in carrying out our vision: Membership, Foundation Chapters, Finances, and Trail Stewardship and Education. Nothing else happens unless those major pillars of our Foundation are successful, healthy and vibrant. Your board meetings and activities will be structured to make those four areas the focus of all we do.

Ensuring the Foundation's growth will require effort from everyone. This is not just a board function. To grow, we must—as we used to say in my Navy flying days—"push the envelope." We will call upon the best and brightest in our Foundation to help us along the way. We have wonderful resources within our Foundation, and I intend to tap them. I am grateful that we have a very active and engaged board of directors and dedicated staff to



Jim Brooke floated the upper Missouri River through the White Cliffs region with his sons and has been passionate about the trail and the Foundation ever since.

provide the leadership necessary to ensure success.

Of course, underpinning our activities will be fun and enjoyment of the trail. There is a special joy I know all of us share in our experiences on this fantastic trail. All the books and videos about this important historical event are wonderful, but nothing compares to being on the trail. I know that first hand. That experience literally changed the direction of my life. Along the way, I have met the dearest friends I have—you, our Foundation members!

I encourage each of us to take time to enjoy the trail during the coming year, and convince our friends to join us.

I'll report on the progress of our four major pillars in subsequent WPO editions. Meantime, please feel free to contact me by e-mail at jamesbrooke@aol.com or by telephone at 719-963-8528 with any suggestions or comments.

I look forward to serving to the best of my abilities and to working with all of you, while *having fun*, to achieve our goals.

—**Jim Brooke**
President, LCTHF

Foundation President Jim Brooke recently announced the organization's committees and key leaders for 2008-2009. They are as follows:

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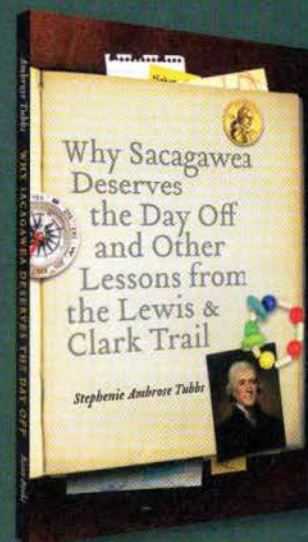
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"Lively, engaging, and well informed, here is the guide through the journals of Lewis and Clark and along the trail with the Corps of Discovery that will keep you laughing, arguing, and pondering. Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs provides delightful insights for her readers on this journey."

—Clyde A. Milner II, editor of *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West*



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integrity of the Trail and its story through
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Letters

A motive for Lewis's murder; the Experiment

I have believed that Meriwether Lewis was murdered ever since I read Vardis Fisher's book, *Suicide or Murder?* For the last year, I have done extensive research on Meriwether Lewis, James Wilkinson and the general history of the early 1800s. Recently, I discovered a plausible motive.

William Carr, federal land agent and Meriwether Lewis's friend, said the lead mine district directly south of St. Louis could pay for the entire Louisiana Purchase within a few years. It was the world's largest concentration of pure lead, which was used to make bullets. Congress voted to reserve and lease all land containing lead in the territory, almost 1,000 square miles. Land was to be leased from one to three years from the federal government unless there was a prior, valid, Spanish land grant title. The lead district became the scene of raging "mineral wars," with armed groups battling for control. The chief troublemaker was John Smith T., a distant relative of General James Wilkinson.

Wilkinson, the first governor of the Louisiana Territory, and former vice president Aaron Burr had plotted treasonous acts against the United States. Wilkinson's administration was full of "Burrites," men who supported Burr's planned invasion of Mexico in 1806. When Meriwether Lewis became the second governor of the Louisiana Territory, he appointed William Clark Brigadier General of the Territorial Militia and instructed him to remove adherents of Burr from positions of influence. Lewis specifically identified John Smith T.

Smith T. (the "T" was for Tennessee) always carried four pistols, one dirk and a rifle called "Hark from the Tombs." Smith T. was contending with Moses Austin for control of the lead mine district, employing armed men and engaging lawyers in multiple lawsuits to enforce his "floating Spanish land claim." He was accused of killing 15-20 men in duels and other gun fights.

Austin, a mine operator from Virginia, had established his land claim under the Spanish government. When Wilkinson became governor, he removed Austin from several local offices and appointed Smith T. in his stead. Smith T. dispensed justice as a district judge with "Hark from the Tombs" in his lap.

In August of 1809, the month before Lewis set out on his fateful journey to Washington, D.C., Smith T. was chosen as a representative by land claimants to carry two petitions to Congress. One petition requested the removal of the only honest land claims commissioner and territorial judge, J. B. C. Lucas, and the other asked for an upgrade in territorial status, which would allow residents to elect their own territorial legislature. Smith T. went to Washington that winter, and while no record of his activities has been found, it is known that neither petition was successful.

It is my belief that General Wilkinson, Smith T. and others conspired to assassinate Lewis. Their primary motive was the fortune to be made in the lead mine district.

Lewis died on the Natchez Trace on October 11, 1809. It is my belief that General Wilkinson, Smith T. and others conspired to assassinate Lewis. Their primary motive was the fortune to be made

in the lead mine district. They would use lead bullets for another planned invasion of Mexico. Lewis represented the interests of the federal government and he was incorruptible.

Lewis stated that he had enemies, and many people expected him to lose his appointment as territorial governor. After his death, when his papers were delivered to Virginia, they were found in disarray, personal and business papers mixed together. William Clark was quite concerned about a missing second will, written at Fort Pickering, which never was found. It seems obvious that his papers were searched and items were removed. In a forthcoming book, I will discuss in detail the accounts of, and the events, surrounding his death.

In April of 2009, River Junction Press will publish *The Death of Meriwether Lewis: A Historic Crime*

Scene Investigation, co-authored by Dr. James E. Starrs and me. The book contains the transcript of the 1996 Lewis County Coroner's Inquest, which investigated Lewis's death. Thirteen expert witnesses testified at the trial. Among them were Arlen Large, former Foundation president, on behalf of the suicide theory; Dr. John Guice, editor of *By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis*, in support of the murder theory; and Ruth Frick, author of *Courageous Colter and Companions*, with an analysis of Lewis's financial condition. The coroner's jury called for an exhumation of Lewis's remains to determine, if possible, the circumstances of his death. So far, the request has been denied. Dr. Starrs, who is a professor of forensic sciences and law at George Washington University, has conducted several exhumations. More than 200 descendants of Lewis's family have signed a petition calling for an exhumation.

Several significant sources support the theory that Lewis was murdered. In 1850, the Meriwether Lewis Monument Committee wrote that while "the impression has long prevailed that under the influence of disease of body and mind ... Governor Lewis perished by his own hands. It seems more probable that he died by the hands of an assassin." Also, in 1924, the Meriwether Lewis Memorial Association petitioned President Calvin Coolidge for the gravesite to become a national monument. Regarding the manner of his death they wrote: "In this wilderness, and alone, on this night, he died. Investigations have satisfied the public that he was murdered, presumably for the purposes of robbery."

The gravesite was declared a national monument in 1925; Meriwether Lewis Park became a unit of the National Park Service's Natchez Trace Parkway in 1961.

For those who are interested in reading more about this subject, I recommend *Opening the Ozarks: A Historical Geography of Missouri's Ste. Genevieve District 1760-1830* by Walter Schroeder and *Frontier Swashbuckler: The Life and Legend of John Smith T.* by Dick Steward.

KIRA GALE
Omaha, Neb.

Corps had right tools for Experiment

There are two well-known examples of relatively large skin-covered boats in the historical record, the Irish curragh and the Eskimo (Inuit) umiak. Both achieved dimensions greater than Meriwether Lewis's "Experiment" and both survived rough seas and oceanic voyages.

Little is recorded of the tactical aspects of curragh construction (G.J. Marcus, *The Conquest of the North Atlantic*), but the design, materials and construction techniques for umiaks are well documented (E.T. Adney and H.I. Chapell, *The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America*).

It appears that the main difference in skin-boat construction methods between the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and a thousand generations of Eskimo women is that the women knew how to sew water-tight seams in raw hides. The technique is detailed by Adney and Chapelle and consists of sewing the flesh side of two hides together with an over-and-over stitch, folding the edges over and sewing them again with a blind stitch.

The skin is not pierced completely through with either stitch. As tension is placed on these seams, they compress one another and increase the tightness of the seams rather than stretching them apart, as would happen with a standard, overlapping seam.

In addition, the umiak's cover was heavily oiled and the seams were rubbed with fat or tallow.

The Corps of Discovery had the equipment necessary to make a water-tight skin boat—a framework, buffalo and elk skins and tallow. They didn't have the sewing skills that were common knowledge to people whose lives truly depended on staying afloat in a leather boat.

KERRY LIPPINCOTT
Casper, Wyo.

WPO welcomes letters. We may edit them for length, accuracy, clarity and civility. Send them to us c/o Editor, WPO, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403 (e-mail wpo@lewisandclark.org).

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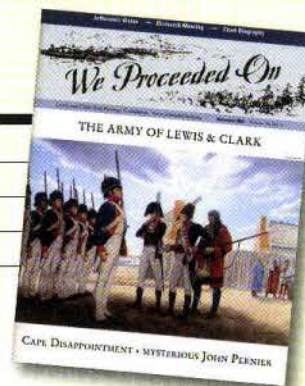
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THE LIFE OF JOHN COLTER

*Better known for his exploits after the expedition,
Colter's heart remained in the West he explored
with the Corps of Discovery*

BY LARRY E. MORRIS

In August of 1806, in present-day North Dakota, John Colter asked permission to leave Lewis and Clark's party and head back west with Joseph Dickson and Forrest Hancock. "Colter one of our men expressed a desire to join Some trappers," wrote William Clark, "who offered to become Shearers with and furnish traps &c. the offer a very advantagious one to him, his Services Could be dispenced with from this down and as we were disposed to be of Service to any one of our party who had performed their duty as well as Colter had done, we agreed to allow him the prvilage provided no one of the party would ask or expect a Similar permission ..."¹

Five weeks later, the Corps of Discovery arrived to a jubilant homecoming in St. Louis. Although Colter's partnership with Dickson and Hancock did not last long, he stayed in the wilderness for another 45 months, becoming the sole Lewis and Clark veteran better known for his adventures following the expedition than during it. He trapped with and guided Manuel Lisa's first trading venture up the Missouri River, and he was arguably the first white man to explore the area that is now Yellowstone National Park.

In his most famous exploit, Colter was captured by Blackfeet Indians near Three Forks, Montana (where the Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin rivers converge to form

the Missouri). His trapping partner and former Lewis and Clark mate, John Potts, was riddled with arrows, but Colter was given a head start and allowed to run—after being stripped of his clothes and moccasins. Run Colter did, until he lost his pursuers. Going east across the Three Forks wetlands, over Bozeman Pass and along the Yellowstone River, he made his way to Fort Raymond at the confluence of the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers. He survived the 220-mile trek by eating roots. Thomas James, who heard the story directly from Colter, wrote that Colter's "beard was long, his face and whole body were thin and emaciated by hunger, and his limbs and feet swollen and sore. The company at the Fort did not recognize him in this dismal plight until he had made himself known."²

After more narrow escapes, Colter finally returned to Missouri, six years after he had departed from there with Lewis and Clark. "This man came to St. Louis in May, 1810," wrote the English naturalist John Bradbury, "in a small canoe, from the head waters of the Missouri, a distance of three thousand miles, which he traversed in thirty days. I saw him on his arrival, and received from him an account of his adventures after he had separated from Lewis and Clarke's party."³ Although Colter, Dickson and Hancock had made grandiose plans to "trap



John Colter, an original member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, requested an early release to trap for furs in the northern Rockies. While there, he is believed to have been one of the first white men to see the geothermal features of the future Yellowstone National Park. While trapping north of there he was captured by Blackfeet, stripped of his clothing and forced to run for his life, pursued by several well-armed warriors. Russell's drawing shows him at the dramatic moment when he had outrun all but one. Whirling around, he wrested away his opponent's spear and killed him with it, then managed to escape the others by running on and hiding under a log in a nearby stream. He eventually made his way to the safety of a fur trader's outpost after an overland journey of 11 days—a heroic feat by any measure.

and hunt until they make a fortune,"⁴ there is no evidence that Colter returned with beaver pelts or cash.

JOHN COLTER VS. EDWARD HEMPSTEAD

If John Colter, who was literate, kept a diary or other records or wrote letters to friends or family, none of those documents has been discovered. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that one of the first things he did in St. Louis was ask about Lewis and Clark. He no doubt was shocked to learn that Lewis, appointed governor of the territory in 1807, had died seven months earlier in Tennessee. On his way to Washington to protest unpaid vouchers and to finally begin publishing an account of the expedition, the distressed Lewis had shot himself.⁵ In a touching irony, Colter had returned from Montana with a letter for Lewis from Lewis's younger brother Reuben, a founding partner of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, who had gone west in the spring of 1809. In the letter, Reuben discussed the beaver trade and asked Meriwether to let their mother know he was in good health.⁶ Reuben probably did not hear of his brother's death for another 14 months, when Lisa reached the Mandan villages on his third trading expedition to the upper Missouri.⁷

Nor was Colter able to find consolation in a talk with

William Clark—always more personable than the distant Lewis—because Clark and his wife Julia (and infant son Meriwether Lewis Clark) had not returned from their own trip to the East. When Clark arrived in St. Louis on July 7,⁸ Colter soon discovered that the pay he was due from the expedition—at least \$350, quite a considerable sum for the era—would not be forthcoming any time soon because Lewis's estate was a tangled mess. A host of individuals were seeking money Lewis had owed when he died. Colter, however, still was expected to pay his debts. He owed prominent St. Louis merchant Auguste Chouteau \$36.50 for a loan taken the previous December at Fort Raymond, apparently for trapping supplies. The payment had been due at the end of June.⁹ Hard up for cash, Colter soon sold his land warrant of 320 acres (a reward from the U.S. government for his service with Lewis and Clark) to John G. Comegys, a St. Louis businessman and partner in the firm of Falconer and Comegys.¹⁰ A month and a half after that, in early October, he signed a promissory note to St. Louis merchant Jacob Philipson for \$16.¹¹ As far as we know, this was Colter's first debt since his return from the West. He incurred another in December, when he signed a note for \$18.25 to Comegys.¹²

The probate proceedings for Lewis's estate did not



WILLIAM CLARK, "A MAP OF PART OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA," 1810/1812, WILLIAM ROBERTSON COE COLLECTION OF WESTERN AMERICAN, BENECKE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

William Clark referenced Colter's 1807 route with a dotted line on his 1810 map, which was published in 1814. (See just below center of map.)

begin until October of 1810, a year after his death. By that time, Colter's attorney, James A. Graham, had filed a suit against Edward Hempstead,¹³ administrator of Lewis's estate, for \$559. Such a total, which supposedly included \$380 for pay and allowances and \$179 for extra pay granted by Congress, makes no sense because Colter's pay for the entire expedition was only \$178.33 1/3, which Congress doubled for a total of \$356.66 2/3. Even this was generous, because Lewis and Clark had decided to pay Colter for the entire period of October 15, 1803, to October 10, 1806, even though Colter left the party in August. Whatever the reason for this discrepancy, the court proceedings began in November of 1810, and William Clark was called as a witness.¹⁴

In a strange turn of events, Colter soon lost his legal representation. Graham, his attorney, apparently said something that offended a Fort Belle Fontaine military officer by the name of John Campbell. Campbell challenged Graham to a duel, sending the notification via prominent St. Louis physician Bernard G. Farrar, a good friend of Clark's whose medical office was in Clark's home. (Farrar amputated expedition veteran George Shannon's leg after he was wounded in a battle with the Arikara Indians in 1807.) Graham refused Campbell's challenge, offending Farrar's honor in the process, and Farrar then challenged Graham to a duel. Notice was delivered by William Clark himself. The duel took place toward the end of December, 1810. Clark acted as Farrar's second. Farrar and Graham both were wounded, Graham seriously. He was bedridden for four months and then attempted to travel east even though he had not fully recovered. He was found dead about 100 miles from St. Louis.¹⁵

MAPPING THE WEST

About the same time the duel took place, Clark was putting the finishing touches on one of the great accomplishments of his life—his 1810 map of the West, which was not published until 1814. A gifted cartographer, Clark had made dozens of significant maps during the expedition. In addition, since the completion of his and Lewis's voyage, he had gathered information from Zebulon Pike, as well as from two expedition veterans who had trapped with and explored for Lisa—George Drouillard and Colter. Although no specific record of their meetings has been found, it is clear that Clark and

Colter met, probably a number of times, between July and December of 1810 to discuss Colter's wanderings through present-day northwest Wyoming.

"Geographical knowledge acquired by Colter . . .," wrote John Logan Allen, "was combined by Clark [with data from Pike and Drouillard]. Such a combination gave form and substance to thousands of square miles of previously unknown territory, and the resulting view was essential in the overall view of western geography."¹⁶ When Clark's map was published in 1814, a dotted line identified "Colter's route in 1807," a notation that has been the source of endless discussion and controversy.

Most historians agree that Colter traveled southwest from Fort Raymond and ascended the south fork of the Shoshone River, called the "Stinking Water River" by Clark (because of the sulphur smell created by various

hot springs). At that point, however, opinions diverge sharply as to whether Colter was the first non-Indian to traverse present-day Yellowstone National Park. Some, identifying Clark's Lake Biddle and Eustis Lake with present Jackson Lake and Yellowstone Lake, respectively, argue that Colter reached the beginnings of the Wind River, crossed the Continental Divide as he went northwest, circled south of Jackson Lake, and crossed the Snake River and then the Teton Range as he made his way into present-day Idaho. According to this theory, Colter then went north along the Idaho side of the Tetons, crossing back

into present-day Wyoming south of Yellowstone Lake. Skirting the northwest corner of that lake, he wandered through the middle of Yellowstone Park, continuing east and slightly north, back to the Bighorn Basin.

Critics object quite strenuously, maintaining for example, that such a scenario has Jackson Lake on the wrong side of the Continental Divide. The upshot is that key parts of Colter's route simply do not correspond to any known geography. The debate therefore is unlikely to be settled, even though all agree with Allen that "Colter's journey was a remarkable achievement, even more remarkable since it was accomplished alone and in the dead of a Rocky Mountain winter."¹⁷

"LATELY MARRIED"

During this same time period, Colter married a woman by the name of Sarah Loucy, also called Sally, maiden name unknown. Nor do we know the exact date of the



William Clark and Colter had contact in 1808 when Clark lent him \$45.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

marriage, but it took place some time before March of 1811, when naturalist John Bradbury wrote that Colter was “lately married.”¹⁸ Colter had at least two children, a son named Hiram and a daughter named Evelina. Their birthdates are uncertain, but records indicate that Hiram was an adult by the mid-1820s, for he bought goods at an estate sale in May of 1825 and had a son of his own, John B. Colter, in March of 1827. Both of these details make it likely that Hiram was born to a previous wife before Colter left on the expedition.¹⁹ (Otherwise, given Colter’s return in May of 1810, Hiram could not have been born until 1811, making him only fourteen in 1825.) If so, and if that wife died, Hiram may have lived with relatives while his father was in the West. This is all speculative, of course, because we have no records for Colter or his family prior to the expedition.²⁰

How Colter supported his family is not known. He had signed away his land and at any rate likely was not suited for farming. Given his skills, he could have eked out a living by hunting and trapping. Eastern Missouri was civilized compared with Colter’s wilderness home, but there were deer hides and beaver pelts to be had. A man who cherished his solitude, Colter would have been quite comfortable going alone, or he may have gone with a companion, as he had with Potts three years earlier.

He could have partnered with a 76-year-old trapper, former Indian fighter and explorer, who lived across the river. Daniel Boone was still active and no doubt restless due to vanishing elbow room. Boone had just returned from a spring hunt with 60 beaver skins. One can easily imagine the two men scouting the nearby streams, creeks and woods together as they traded tales of the hazards and freedoms of their former lives. They shared much, but not longevity. Although 40 years Colter’s senior, Boone would survive him by eight years.²¹ Boone lived with his

youngest son, Nathan, a few years younger than Colter and considered quite like his father in both temperament and survival skills. Colter and Nathan Boone apparently became good friends because Colter later served under Boone in the War of 1812, and the latter eventually named a son after the Lewis and Clark veteran.²²

“A GREAT INCLINATION TO ACCOMPANY THE EXPEDITION”

Any record of Colter’s day-to-day activities has been lost, but his yearning to go west again was clear to others.

When Wilson Price Hunt and his overland Astorians came up the Missouri in the spring of 1811, they camped at the mouth of Boeuf Creek, 45 miles west of St. Louis. They sent a messenger to Colter, who lived about a mile away, and he visited them the next morning.²³ “Colter kept with the party all the morning,” Washington Irving later wrote. “He had many particulars to give them concerning the Blackfeet Indians.”²⁴ John Bradbury, who had interviewed Daniel Boone the previous day (and who had met Colter upon his arrival in St. Louis), queried Colter about a petrified fish mentioned by William Clark.

Bradbury wrote that Colter “accompanied us for some miles, but could not give me the information I wished for. He seemed to have a great inclination to accompany the expedition; but having been lately married, he reluctantly took leave of us.”²⁵

Hunt’s company was headed for the mouth of the Columbia River, and joining them would have brought Colter another incredible adventure, making him the first American to cross the Rockies and reach the Pacific Coast a second time. Attempting to avoid the Blackfeet Indians, Hunt forged a more southerly path than Lewis and Clark, and Colter’s previous wanderings through



Nathan Boone (1781-1856), was the son of Daniel Boone. The younger Boone and Colter were neighbors and became friends. Colter served under Boone in the War of 1812.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

the Bighorn Mountains, Bighorn Basin and Teton Range would have proved invaluable when Hunt's contingent lost its way in a maze of rivers and peaks in present-day northwest Wyoming. Had Colter journeyed west with Hunt, he would have found present-day Idaho particularly unforgiving, just as he had with Lewis and Clark. Before, faced with early blizzards and a scarcity of game, the Corps of Discovery had nearly perished in the rugged Bitterroot Mountains; now, the Astorians suffered similar trials with game and weather while the impassable cataracts and canyons of the Snake River, especially the tremendous gorge later aptly named Hells Canyon, forced them to abandon their dugout canoes and trek northwest on horseback or on foot. Tracing a route that foreshadowed the Oregon Trail, Colter would have beheld vast tracts of land unseen by Lewis and Clark. The route would have become familiar to him only when the Columbia came into view.

Hunt, a businessman with no exploration experience, certainly would have welcomed Colter, just as he later did Colter's former comrades, Edward Robinson, John Hoback and Jacob Reznor, and he presumably pleaded with the Lewis and Clark veteran to sign on as an employee of the enterprising John Jacob Astor. Considering Colter's wanderlust, it is surprising and admirable that he declined and remained with his family. The sad irony is that Colter, virtually invincible during his six-year sojourn in the West, would succumb to illness a little more than a year after resisting the temptation to go west with Hunt.

So, rather than confronting the perils of mad rivers and mad bears, Colter turned to the mundane but hostile world of financial difficulties and endless litigation that his former employer Manuel Lisa knew so well. Thomas James, who had trapped with Colter in present-day Montana—and who eventually left an unparalleled account of Colter's exploits—was back in Missouri and had sued the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company for back wages. Lisa, Pierre Menard, Reuben Lewis and William Clark were among the defendants. The company quickly took the offensive and counter-sued. Both sides called Colter (spelled "Caulter" in court documents) as a witness. He was summoned to testify in March, June and October of 1811.²⁶ No record of that testimony has been discovered.

Whatever the outcome of the case—and it could have dragged on for years—James no doubt was broke on his arrival in St. Louis, a fate common to virtually all trappers. He was unable to pay the \$140 he owed Colter for

traps, a gun and ammunition provided by Colter in October of 1809 near Fort Mandan. Luckily, Colter's own suit was drawing to a successful close. Two months after William Clark testified in March of 1811, presumably strengthening Colter's case, the court awarded Colter \$375.60, almost twenty dollars more than he actually was due (although almost \$200 less than he had requested). This was the best Colter could have hoped for, and he received payment from Edward Hempstead on May 28,²⁷ within days of the one-year anniversary of his return from the West. The funds apparently tided Colter over and, as far as is known, he incurred no debts the rest of the year.

"A FINE BODY OF HARDY WOODSMEN"

On April 12, 1810, near the Three Forks, Colter had returned from trapping to find that two of his fellow trappers had been slain and scalped by Blackfeet warriors and three had disappeared and were not seen again. Concluding he had finally seen enough, Colter left the Montana country for the last time two days later, making one final escape from hostile Indians in the process. He must have hoped for tranquility in Missouri, but what he found was all-too-familiar violence. In July of 1810, only weeks after Colter's arrival in St. Louis, a post rider on his way from Vincennes, Indiana, to St. Louis was killed by Indians and the mail lost. Then, as William Clark wrote to the War Department, "four men who reside near the Missouri ... who had been in pursuit of horses which had been stolen from them were killed in their camp ... by the Indians."²⁸

The brutality continued, and one particular incident triggered alarm throughout the area. In the early morning hours of June 2, 1811, three Indians attacked a family by the name of Cox who lived on Shoal Creek in Illinois. They killed the family's young son and kidnapped his sister. "From travellers, from spies, and from every other source of information direct from the hostile indian country," wrote the editor of the *Louisiana Gazette*, "we have every reason to expect a general attack as soon as the corn is ripe enough for food."²⁹ Like other government officials, Clark placed the ultimate blame for this hostility not on a native nation, but on a group he had distrusted and detested from his youth—the British.

Tension between the United States and its former mother country had been rising steadily for several years, and a group of Republican congressmen known as the war hawks now were demanding war with England. At the same time, several Indian tribes in the West, includ-

ing the Shawnee, Winnebago, Potawatomi, Miami and Kickapoo, all of whom had a long list of grievances against the United States, had aligned themselves with the British. The Americans and the Indians were intent on war, so it came as no surprise that a conflict broke out between William Henry Harrison's troops and the Shawnee in November of 1811 at the Battle of Tippecanoe, often considered the start of the War of 1812.

Settlers in the western territories lived in constant fear of Indian attacks, and after nine members of one family were massacred near the Mississippi River in February of 1812, Benjamin Howard, governor of the Missouri territory, ordered Captain Nathan Boone to muster a contingent of riflemen. "Boone raised a Company of Rangers ..." one of the militiamen later recalled, "we went into Building forts in Different places over the country to keep the Indians from murdering our helpless women and children."³⁰ John Colter was among the 41 men who enlisted at St. Charles on March 3. A week earlier, Colter had stopped in St. Louis to see William Clark, who would have had good things to say about Nathan Boone. In 1808, when he launched an expedition to build Fort Osage 300 miles upstream from the mouth of the Missouri, he had entrusted Boone with a key role in the mission. Now, Clark and Colter talked for what must have been the final time, also the last known contact between Colter and any veteran of the Corps of Discovery. Clark loaned Colter \$45,³¹ presumably to supply his family as well as himself, for "the rangers were to equip themselves with good rifles or muskets and side arms as well as with clothing, horses, and provisions."³²

Less than three weeks after Colter and the others enlisted, the *Louisiana Gazette* warned that the Kickapoo and Winnebago had massacred settlers to the north and that a Potawatomi attack was in the offing. However, the editorial continued, "The new company of rangers now doing duty in the district of St. Charles are perhaps as fine a body of hardy woodsmen as ever took the field. They cover, by constant and rapid movements, the tract of country from Salt River on the Mississippi to the Missouri near Loutre."³³

At a July 4 celebration in St. Louis, thankful settlers paid tribute to Boone and his men: "Our Frontiers—watched and protected by a hardy band of Spartan Warriors—the Rangers."³⁴ Colter was not there to enjoy the festivities, however. He had died two months earlier.

"I HEARD OF COLTER'S DEATH BY JAUNDICE"

Colter's military record answers certain questions about

his death but raises others at the same time. We know that he enlisted March 3, served as a private for 65 days, was paid one dollar a day and ended his service on May 6. Then follows this note: "Died 7 May 1812."³⁵ There is no mention of the cause of death, but he apparently was sick because his enlistment was not scheduled to end until June. (Nor is there reason to believe Colter died a violent death because Boone's rangers had no battles with Indians during this period.) What was the nature of his illness? How long had he been sick? Did he see his family before he died? All of these questions must go unanswered. Nor is Colter's age known, but Thomas James estimated that he was 35 in 1809, making him about 38 at his death.

Thomas James, the sole source of information concerning the cause of Colter's death, wrote that "a few years after [Colter left Montana in 1810] I heard of [his] death by jaundice."³⁶ Jaundice is a yellowish discoloration of the skin that can have any number of causes, including pancreatic cancer, malaria, kidney disease and liver disease caused by alcoholism or hepatitis (which in turn can be caused by ingesting contaminated food or water). Whatever Colter's illness, it apparently came on quickly because a sick man hardly could have enlisted in Boone's company.

Probate proceedings for Colter's estate began on November 27, 1813, leading historians Burton Harris and Charles Clarke to conclude that he must have died earlier that month. Subsequent historians accepted this assumption, and November 1813 thus became the de facto date for Colter's death. While the original military record states unequivocally that Colter died in May of 1812, the printed copy of that record—and indexes that followed—mistakenly reprinted the name as "Cotter." The actual date of Colter's death was thus lost to the academic world until Fred R. Gowans correctly identified it in *Mountain Man and Grizzly* (published in 1992). Then, in 1997, Ruth Colter-Frick published details of the Colter/Cotter confusion, explaining that she discovered the error in 1982 while doing research in the National Archives.³⁷

It is not known why Colter's probate proceedings were delayed for almost a year and a half, but such a situation was not uncommon in Missouri at this time. Legal machinery often turned slowly on the frontier, and official measures to settle the estates of expedition veterans George Drouillard, Thomas Howard, John Potts and even Meriwether Lewis (all of whom died between 1808 and 1814) did not begin for at least a year after their deaths.³⁸

"THREE HISTORIES, ONE COFFEE POT"

Colter's probate papers show that his widow, Sally, remarried. Her husband's name was James Brown, and the marriage apparently took place by November of 1813 because Brown participated from the start in settling Colter's estate. On December 4, three neighbors appraised Colter's property, leaving a list that included livestock, furniture and kitchen utensils. The stark inventory, totaling no more than 25 items for an estimated value of less than \$200, mentions a dark bay mare valued at \$45.60, a set of plough irons worth \$5, a pot and oven appraised at \$5.50 and a 75-cent hoe, giving the appearance that the life of this soldier, explorer, son, husband and father actually could be reduced to a list of mundane objects. One reference in the catalog of effects is particularly poignant: "Three histories." That is the listing in its entirety. What were the titles of these volumes? Were all three published works or could one have contained Colter's handwritten account of his travels along the Missouri, Yellowstone, Bighorn, Shoshone, Snake and Columbia rivers? We will never know, for rather than being secured in an archive, the books were sold at auction. Benjamin Heatherly bought one for 64 cents, Mosias Maupin another for 75 cents and Samuel Cantly the last for 86 cents. The next item on the list, a coffee pot valued at three-quarters of a dollar, brought in more than any of the histories. Enoch Greenstreet bought it for \$1.62 ½.

On October 22, 1821, more than nine years after

Colter's death, the probate proceedings were finally closed and Sally Coulter [sic] Brown received a settlement of \$124.11.³⁹

John Colter's grave never has been positively identified. Charles Clarke suggested that he may have been buried at the cemetery of the Fee Fee Baptist Church in Bridgeton, Missouri (across the Missouri and east of St. Charles),

but no tombstone has been found.⁴⁰ In 1926, a newspaper article claimed that a steam shovel accidentally had "eaten its way into a little cemetery [near New Haven, Missouri] of a half a dozen graves," one of which held Colter's coffin. The remains of Colter and the others supposedly were "distributed in three or four dirt cars."⁴¹ There is no hard evidence that either of these locations was Colter's final resting place.

Ruth Colter-Frick, Colter researcher par excellence (and a descendant of John Colter), discovered that Hiram Colter was buried in a rural graveyard known as the Old Miller Cemetery. She wrote, "The cemetery is on a beautiful bluff overlooking the Missouri river, west

of Boeuf Creek, and east of New Haven, Missouri. The Missouri Pacific Railroad tracks, running between the cemetery and the Missouri River, are directly below the north edge of the cemetery. . . . The grave next to Hiram's [has] an unmarked head stone of native rock shaped like a mountain peak."⁴²

Concluding that John Colter had been laid to rest in this tranquil spot—which is far from a paved highway



One of the greatest hazards that the men of the expedition encountered was the river itself. This scene depicts the keelboat in danger of capsizing. The boat had hit a hidden sandbar and is tipping dangerously to larboard. The men are working frantically to keep her upright. John Colter is in the foreground wearing his civilian hat and a pair of buckskin breeches and moccasins. An infantryman struggles with his oar as York lends his strength and size.

and even a fair hike from a gravel road—Ruth Colter-Frick raised money and had a monument erected, which reads as follows:

JOHN COLTER
MEMBER OF
U.S. MOUNTED VOLUNTEER RANGERS
NATHAN BOONE'S CO.
MAR. 3, 1812 TO MAY 6, 1812
DIED MAY 7, 1812

Standing in the small cemetery, which is overgrown with brambles and thickets but protected by a wire fence, one can neither hear nor see signs of the modern world. The only sounds are the chirping of birds and the buzz of insects. Through the trees and the brush, the mighty Missouri is visible, winding its way toward the Mississippi, bringing a vivid image of how things must have looked 200 years ago. One thing is certain: If John Colter is not buried here, he should be.

Foundation member Larry E. Morris is the author of *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition* (Yale University Press, 2004). He is now writing a book about John Colter for the University of Nebraska Press.

NOTES

¹ Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983–2001), Vol. 8, p. 302. Clark's entry for August 15, 1806. Clark was handling virtually all administrative tasks for the expedition at this time because Meriwether Lewis was recuperating from a gunshot wound suffered four days earlier. Boatman and interpreter—and fiddle player—Pierre Cruzatte accidentally had shot Lewis while the two of them were hunting.

² Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1962, unabridged reprint of the 1846 edition), p. 34.

³ John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America*, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, 32 volumes (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904–1907), Vol. 5, pp. 44–45, n. 18.

⁴ Moulton, Vol. 9, p. 348. John Ordway's entry for August 12, 1806. Joseph Dickson (1775–1844) returned to St. Louis by himself in the summer of 1807, reportedly with a canoe full of valuable fur (Peter Cartwright, *The Backwoods Preacher* [London: Daldy, Isbister, 1878], pp. 256–257). Dickson's life is well documented in Frank H. Dickson, "Hard on the Heels of

Lewis and Clark," *Montana* (January 1976), pp. 14–25. Forrest Hancock (born in 1774, died by 1847), like Colter, trapped with Lisa for two or three years and apparently returned to St. Louis empty handed.

⁵ For information on Lewis's death, see John D. W. Guice, ed., *By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

⁶ Reuben Lewis to Meriwether Lewis, April 21, 1810, in Meriwether Lewis Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

⁷ Lisa's party, which included Toussaint Charbonneau and Sacagawea, met Reuben Lewis at the Mandan villages in July of 1811. Neither Lisa nor any of his partners had gone up the river in 1810. Richard Edward Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 114.

⁸ William E. Foley, *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), p. 185.

⁹ The debt originally had been pledged to the estate of Jean Baptiste Lepage, a Lewis and Clark veteran who apparently died while trapping with Lisa in 1809. See L. R. Colter-Frick, *Courageous Colter and Companions* (Washington, Mo.: Privately published, 1997), pp. 155–157.

¹⁰ James J. Holmberg, ed., *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 236, n. 6; and Colter-Frick, p. 143. Colter signed over the land warrant on August 20, 1810.

¹¹ Meriwether Lewis Papers, Missouri Historical Society. Donald Jackson noted that Jacob and Joseph Philipson both were St. Louis businessmen (*Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783–1854*, 2 volumes [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978], Vol. 2, p. 729, n. 1). They apparently were relatives because Colter's debt to Jacob ultimately was paid to Joseph after Colter's death. Colter's estate papers, Franklin County Probate Court, Union, Missouri.

¹² Meriwether Lewis Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

¹³ Edward Hempstead (1780–1817) was the attorney general for Upper Louisiana at the time and a friend of William Clark's. In 1812, he was elected as a Delegate to Congress from the newly formed Missouri Territory. He died in St. Louis from injuries received when he was thrown from a horse. Landon Jones, *William Clark and the Shaping of the West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), p. 208; and *Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress*, accessed on 11/29/2007 at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000472>.

¹⁴ A summons had been served to Hempstead on September 3, 1810. See Colter, John v. Hempstead, Edward, Administrator, Nov. 1810, Case No. 38, Circuit Court Case Files, Office of the Circuit Clerk, City of St. Louis, Missouri, accessed on 4/26/2007 at <http://stlcourtrecords.wustl.edu>; Jackson, John Colter's receipt to Edward Hempstead, Vol. 2, p. 567; and Jackson, the act compensating Lewis and Clark, Vol. 2, pp. 377–378.

¹⁵ Holmberg, pp. 255–256. Jones, pp. 191–192, offers a similar account, but Foley, pp. 189–190, asserts that Graham died a few days after being wounded.

¹⁶ John Logan Allen, *Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 378.

¹⁷ Ibid. Along with Allen, another good source on Clark's map is Paul E. Cohen, *Mapping the West: America's Westward Movement, 1524-1890* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), pp. 86-96. Among the multitude of works discussing Colter's possible route are Jerry Bagley, *The First Known Man in Yellowstone* (Rigby, Idaho: Old Faithful Eyewitness Press, 2000), pp. 163-176; Robert B. Betts, *Along the Ramparts of the Tetons: The Saga of Jackson Hole, Wyoming* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1978), pp. 37-49; Burton Harris, *John Colter: His Years in the Rockies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 75-114; Barbara Kubik, "John Colter: One of Lewis and Clark's Men, *We Proceeded On* (May-June 1983), pp. 10-14; and James R. Wolf, "General Sheridan's Pass," *Annals of Wyoming* Vol. 71, Issue 4 (1999), pp. 29-40.

¹⁸ Bradbury, Vol. 5, p. 46.

¹⁹ Colter-Frick, pp. 174-180.

²⁰ Hiram Colter married Margaret Davis, and they had nine children. Their names, and approximate ages in October 1845, were as follows: John B., 17; James, 16; Absalom, 12; William, 10; Mary Ann, 9; Jefferson, 7; Joseph, 5; Nathan, 3; and Lucy Jane, 1. Colter's daughter, Evelina, married John Blize in 1830, and they had at least one child, a daughter named Sarah Blize. Most of Colter's grandchildren had several children themselves, so his descendants increased rapidly. Today, he has quite a number of known descendants. Genealogical information taken from Colter-Frick, *Courageous Colter*, pp. 174-180; the E. B. Trail papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri, Columbia; the Giulvezan genealogical file, Missouri Historical Society; and the Colter file, St. Charles (Missouri) Historical Society. The 1870 Franklin County, Missouri, census record includes a John Colter, age 41. Other family records, however, make it clear that this was James Colter, Hiram's second son. (Perhaps his middle name was John.) The 1880 Gasconade County, Missouri, census record includes a John Colter, age 53 (Hiram's first son) and his son Hiram Colter, age 27. The listing for this Hiram includes a 7-year-old son by the name of John B. Colter, a great-great-grandson of the explorer.

²¹ John Bradbury wrote that Boone "had lately returned from his spring hunt, with nearly sixty beaver skins." *Travels in the Interior*, Vol. 5, p. 43. Colter and Boone lived so close to each other that it's hard to believe they did not become well acquainted. Speculation regarding their association, however, is based on circumstantial rather than direct evidence.

²² Boone family genealogy records and the Ancestral File database both state that Nathan Boone had a son named John Coulter Boone. (Interestingly, as mentioned earlier, Hiram Boone named one of his sons Nathan, possibly in honor of John Colter's last commander.) There is some confusion, however, concerning John Boone's middle name. Nathan Boone's biographer lists it as *Coburn*. See R. Douglas Hurt, *Nathan Boone and the American Frontier* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), p. 218. Some genealogical databases agree that John Boone's middle name was Coburn.

²³ Colter lived in present-day Franklin County, on the south

side of the Missouri, east of New Haven. Daniel Boone lived on the north side of the river, near present-day Marthasville, Warren County. The site of the French village of La Charette, mentioned by Bradbury as well as Lewis and Clark, is now submerged beneath the Missouri. Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 368, n. 3.

²⁴ Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 146. Irving no doubt embellished his narrative, which was first published in 1836. Still, as Robert M. Utley points out, Irving's work "is indispensable, for he had access to sources that no longer exist." *A Life Wild and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific* (New York: Owl Books, 1997), p. 320, n. 5.

²⁵ Bradbury, Vol. 5, pp. 45-46.

²⁶ James, Thomas v. St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, Nov. 1810, Case No. 62 and St. Louis Missouri Fur Company v. James, Thomas, Nov. 1810, Case No. 38, Circuit Court Case Files, Office of the Circuit Clerk, City of St. Louis, Missouri, accessed on 4/26/2007 at <http://stlcourtrecords.wustl.edu>.

²⁷ Jackson, John Colter's receipt to Edward Hempstead, May 28, 1811, Vol. 2, p. 567.

²⁸ William Clark to the War Department, September 12, 1810, U. S. War Department, Extracts of Letters about Indian Affairs, 1807-1811, Ohio State Historical Society, Columbus.

²⁹ *Louisiana Gazette*, July 4, 1811, cited in Kate L. Gregg, "The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 33, Issue 3 (1938), p. 10.

³⁰ *Boone Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, cited in Gregg, p. 13.

³¹ Colter's estate papers.

³² Hurt, pp. 86-87.

³³ *Louisiana Gazette*, March 21, 1812, cited in Hurt, p. 87.

³⁴ *Louisiana Gazette*, July 4, 1812, cited in Gregg, p. 15.

³⁵ Muster Roll and Company Pay Roll, Captain Nathan Boone's Company of U. S. Mounted Rangers, War of 1812, National Archives. See Colter-Frick, pp. 137-138, for reprints of these documents.

³⁶ James, p. 65.

³⁷ Colter-Frick, pp. 133-139.

³⁸ Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 191-199.

³⁹ Colter's estate papers; Lewis Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Charles G. Clarke, *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), p. 47. Clarke, who originally published his book in 1970, found a record of Colter's burial in the Fee Fee Baptist cemetery at the St. Charles Historical Society. However, when I visited the St. Charles Historical Society in 2005, the librarians were unable to locate any such record.

⁴¹ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "Sunday Magazine," June 27, 1926.

⁴² Colter-Frick, p. 218.

MOONLIGHTING ON THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

In the early days of the expedition, Corps of Discovery members realized trapping was a lucrative industry

BY JIM HARDEE

Trade in animal skins was significant to the U.S. economy during the early part of the nineteenth century, especially on the frontier. It was apparent to members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the start of their journey that trapping could be a lucrative career. They passed three fur-laden boats heading toward St. Louis markets in their first 10 days on the Missouri River in 1804. Beaver skins, often called “plews,” were an integral part of the fur trade at that time. Beaver fur could be converted to high-quality felt, which was highly sought by hat makers. A 100-pound pack of beaver pelts was worth about \$180.¹

Among President Thomas Jefferson’s many objectives for the expedition was to determine whether furs being funneled into British establishments could be diverted to American markets. With that in mind, Lewis, Clark and a few other members of the Corps of Discovery diligently recorded observations of fur-bearing animals, particularly the beaver, its food sources and habitat. More than a quarter of the expedition’s daily entries include mention of beaver, *Castor canadensis*. Only deer, buffalo and elk were mentioned more frequently.

William Clark was the first expedition member to record

beaver activity, noting a large pond containing beaver at Cow Island, above present-day Leavenworth, Kansas.² Sightings of beaver became increasingly common after the expedition passed present-day Council Bluffs, Iowa. Meriwether Lewis paid close attention to their habits, including their typical food sources, noting, “I have met with several trees which have been felled by [beaver] 20 Inches in diameter. bark is their only food; and they appear to prefer that of the Cotton wood and willow; as we have never met with any other species of timber on the Missouri which had the appearance of being cut by them.—”³

Always an astute observer, Lewis noticed that as these types of trees disappeared from the landscape, the beaver population dwindled. Above the mouth of the Musselshell River he wrote, “game is becoming more scarce, particularly beaver, of which we have seen but few for several days the beaver appears to keep pace with the timber as it declines in quantity they also become more scarce.”⁴

In the early months of the journey, it was common for the Corps of Discovery to put in for the night at, or near, a beaver dam. While this may have been done to hunt or trap, often it appears to have been curiosity or amazement at the



Despite frequent observations of beaver habits and habitat, Lewis left a note for William Clark on a freshly cut sapling at the confluence of the Jefferson and Big Hole rivers on August 4, 1805. A beaver carried off the branch, message still attached, causing Clark to miss the turn. In his journal the next day, Lewis wrote with seeming perplexity, "the possibility of such an occurrence never onc [sic] occurred to me when I placed [the note] on the green pole."

size and number of dams on the river that drew them to a location. On September 1, 1804, the party stopped early to sightsee at a "large Beaver house," supposedly home to about 300 animals.⁵ At the end of July 1805, Lewis waded through mud and water up to his waist on the Jefferson River to avoid beaver ponds formed by a series of dams.⁶ At the mouth of the Wisdom River, beaver were so numerous, the flapping of their tails on the water could be heard all night.⁷ In one 30-day period, from mid-July through mid-August 1805, the bounty of beaver sign was noted on 22 days.⁸

For Army privates earning little more than \$5 per month, surely the large quantity of beaver caused dreams of riches lying just beyond their grasp. With a few beaver pelts equal to a month's pay, it did not take long for several expedition members to incorporate beaver trapping into their daily routines.⁹

Journal descriptions indicate the men were paying close attention to the potential market values of beaver based on the size of the creatures they saw. They used words such as "large," "fat" and "remarkable" to describe beaver. They also scrutinized the quality of the pelts. Near the Little

Knife River Lewis wrote, "The beaver of this part of the Missouri are larger, fatter, more abundant and better clad with fur than those of any other part of the country that I have yet seen ..."¹⁰

EXPLORERS AS TRAPPERS

An inventory of expedition equipment does not indicate traps as official supplies. The hand-forged steel traps of that era were cumbersome and heavy. At least one writer, John Colter biographer Burton Harris, surmised that Lewis and Clark allowed men to bring their own traps to boost personal financial gains from the expedition. Harris asserted that the heavy traps of the period, weighing about five pounds each, could not be carried on the trip without the prior consent of the captains. Trapping was common on the frontier and traps were affordable to most people. The 1802 inventory of Colonel John Johnson's Indian Agency in Fort Wayne, Indiana, listed beaver traps at a wholesale cost of \$1.67 each.¹¹

Evidence that traps were the men's personal property lies in the use of the possessive word "our" in the expedition journals. The officers continually referred to the party's



Typical bait for trapping beaver is a gooey secretion from the castor glands under a beaver's tail. Explorer David Thompson claimed castoreum was not common. Modern-day trappers continue to use castoreum to lure their fur-bearing quarry. Lewis, writing from Fort Clatsop on January 7, 1806, gave a detailed account of the process. His description says, "... the castor ... is gently pressed out of the bladderlike bag which contains it ... add half a nutmeg, a dozen or 15 grains of clove, then add as much ardent spirits to the composition as will reduce it [to] the consistency [of] mustard ..."

supplies using the word "our." However, the captains never described any trap as "our trap." When one beaver was caught in two traps, Lewis wrote, "the traps belonged to different individuals."¹² On another occasion, Lewis indicated a trap that had been left behind belonged to a member of the party.¹³

The expedition trapped its first beaver on July 22, 1804,

above the mouth of the Platte River while at White Catfish Camp. Thereafter, the men caught or killed beaver every few days as the party moved up the Missouri. (The journals reveal a definite distinction between beaver "caught" and those "killed.") As a food source, beaver was palatable fare. Lewis reported that some of the men preferred beaver to most other meat varieties, finding beaver meat, the liver and



only used until 1793, though others claim it came into use before that. of how to prepare castoreum, which he most likely learned from Drouillard and thirty grains of cinimon finely pulverized, stir them well together and

tail in particular, to be a delicacy. While on the Pacific Coast, Lewis described the taste of whale blubber, and wrote the flesh of beaver and dog, "possess very great affinity in point of flavor" to it. On more than one occasion, a beaver was the sole quarry of the expedition hunters, which, according to Lewis, provided enough meat for just two men.¹⁴

In early September 1804, George Drouillard was the

first to shoot a beaver. No beaver were taken during the winter months at Fort Mandan, but once travel resumed in the spring, they again were harvested with some regularity. Shortly after leaving Fort Mandan, the corps overtook three French hunters who had set out a few days earlier on their own trapping expedition. Lewis wrote, "this is the first essay of a beaver hunter of any discription on this river. the beaver these people have already taken is by far the best I have ever seen."¹⁵ Faced with competition, Sergeant John Ordway kept a running total of pelts for the next few days, but as the number of skins in the French canoes pulled ahead, Ordway halted his daily tallies.¹⁶

The expedition's most productive stretch for harvesting beaver was from the mouth of the Little Missouri River to the Great Falls. From April 11, 1805, to July 5, 1805, members of the corps recorded at least 100 beaver harvests in their journals. Unfortunately, vague quantities such as "several" and "some" make an exact count impossible.¹⁷

On the return journey, expedition members harvested far fewer beaver than on the outbound journey. They were in a hurry to return to St. Louis and either no one took time to trap, or it was not permitted. Consequently, only 52 beaver were taken between May 1, 1806, and the party's September arrival in St. Louis (including 31 by Colter and Private John Collins while separated from the party for 10 days in August.) All of those, with the exception of one trapped by William Bratton, were shot.¹⁸

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many beaver were harvested and by what method. In a summary of the natural history of the expedition, Raymond Burroughs calculated at least 107 beaver were taken throughout the expedition.¹⁹ Writer Leandra Holland bumped the number to 111.²⁰ However, careful comparison of all the expedition journals suggests the number of beaver accounted for is as high as 200. The roughly 300 pounds of skins would have been worth about \$540.

At the cache near the Marias River, Sergeant Ordway recorded that "... bear Skins packs of beaver Skins buffalow Robes & a number of other articles ..." were stored for retrieval on the return trip. Given the number of beaver taken by Lewis and Clark's men prior to making the cache, there were likely several packs of skins to store. Unfortunately, when the Corps returned to the cache in the summer of 1806, it had caved in and water seepage damaged many of the pelts.²¹

It is unclear exactly who brought traps on the expedition and how many they had. Various journal entries indicate that Drouillard, Colter and Private William Bratton had traps.²² Canadian fur trader Alexander Ross wrote, "Six traps is the

regular allowance for each hunter.”²³ If Drouillard, Colter and Bratton had six traps each, it is possible the expedition carried 18 traps on the journey. At five pounds each, that would have added about 90 pounds to the baggage weight meticulously calculated at the start of the journey by Lewis.

Only 10 traps can be verified in the journals—one each for Colter and Bratton, five for Drouillard (who cached at least three at the junction of the Marias River and still had two at Fort Clatsop), one that was lost in November 1804, one dragged away by a wolf at Fort Mandan and another dragged off by an otter in April 1805—but it is likely that more traps were present on the expedition.²⁴

The identity of the beaver shooter or trapper seldom was recorded in the journals. George Drouillard, one of the few civilian members of the corps, was credited with harvesting the most beaver. He trapped no fewer than 20 beaver and shot at least 14 more. Clark shot up to a dozen beaver and Lewis, at least one.

It does not appear that trapping interfered with the military chores and duties of the men. It is common to find journal entries about trappers who set off for beaver once the corps landed on shore for the day. Officers evidently allowed free time to pursue fur. Traps typically were set in the evening twilight or dark of night and collected early the next morning. Trappers ranged as far as three miles from camp to make their sets, sometimes staying out all night. Drouillard and Baptiste Lepage spent a week away from Fort Clatsop in January 1806 hunting and trapping.²⁵

Author Paul Russell Cutright asserted that the captains ordered those with traps to assault the beaver population.²⁶ However, evidence suggests a lack of any organized trapping. For example, frequent journal entries verify the officers “sent” or “ordered” the men out to hunt or accomplish other tasks, yet no entry provides such an order for traps to be set. Perhaps the best indicator of a lack of organization occurred on April 18, 1805, when a beaver was caught by a forepaw in one trap and a hind leg in another.²⁷ This situation nearly led to fisticuffs between the two owners of the traps before the officers interceded.²⁸

Even Lewis’s dog participated in the beaver hunt. One evening, the party arrived for dinner at what Clark described as a “Beever house.” Seaman dug into the lodge and drove the animals out, however no one recorded whether any of the beaver were taken.²⁹

Shortly after leaving Fort Mandan, Seaman was involved in a life-threatening episode when one of the men wounded a beaver. Lewis wrote, “... my dog as usual swam in to catch it; the beaver bit him through the hind leg and cut the artery;

it was with great difficulty that I could stop the blood; I fear it will yet prove fatal to him.”³⁰

The chisel-like incisors of the beaver have a thin layer of hard, orange-colored enamel on the outside, attached to a thick backing of dentine. This dentine layer is rather soft and wears away through continual cutting action, always leaving the shell-like edge of enamel finely honed.³¹ Drouillard also experienced the razor-sharp bite of the beaver. On the return trip he shot and wounded a beaver, which bit his knee “very badly.”³²

Members of the Corps of Discovery gathered other peltry in addition to beaver. When the keelboat departed Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805, a variety of animal hides were shipped downstream to St. Louis. Skins appearing on the “Invoice of articles forwarded from Fort Mandan ...” include marten, antelope, deer, buffalo, fox and others—but no beaver.³³ Otter, muskrat, raccoon, fox and wolf were mentioned at various times in the journals, though only beaver and bearskins were deposited in the cache at the Marias. Perhaps these were the only hides deemed valuable enough to keep. Another possibility is that the cached pelts were considered private property and the captains had not wanted the responsibility of shipping them to St. Louis, or thought it inappropriate.

Although the expedition’s hunters predominantly trapped or shot fur-bearing animals, they also employed other methods. On August 11, 1805, Lewis noted that the men clubbed a beaver with a setting pole and “tommahawked several Otter.”³⁴

While on the Pacific Coast, Lewis described the fur of both the beaver and the otter in that country as “extremely good.”³⁵ A trap set for beaver could also catch an otter. This happened on numerous occasions, but most often due to Drouillard’s superior trapping skills. One morning he found a beaver and an otter in two of his traps.³⁶ Ordway wrote on April 14, 1805, that Drouillard caught an otter large enough to break the trap chain and escape. Even though they could see where the animal dragged it along the beach, the trap was not found.³⁷

In addition to trapping, expedition members also did a fair amount of trading. On several occasions, fur was the focus. During the winter at Fort Mandan, expedition members visited Northwest Company traders, often bartering fur for tobacco.³⁸ Ordway reported that two expedition hunters caught wolves in their traps while they were at Fort Mandan. Some of these hides were taken to local traders who reportedly gave as much in trade as they did for a beaver skin—an amount equivalent to three feet of twist tobacco.³⁹ Perhaps the most well-known trade

BEAVER CAUGHT AND KILLED BY THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY

c = caught / k = killed

See notes for chart on page 23

Date	Count ²	Breakdown	Member	Vol./pg. ¹	Date	Count	Breakdown	Member	Vol./pg.
7/22/04	2	2c		10:22	5/15/05	4	4k		9:148
7/23/04	2	2c		10:23	5/19/05	6	1c, 5k	Clark (1k), Lewis (1k)	4: 167 & 9:150
7/26/04	5	5c		2:420	5/20/05	2	1c, 1k		11:162
7/30/04	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	2:429	5/21/05	4	2c, 2k		11:163-164
8/1/04	2	2c	Drouillard (1c)	2:434 & 9:33	5/22/05	2	2c		11:164
8/2/04	1	1c		2:435	5/23/05	1	1k	Clark (1k)	4:185
8/9/04	1	1c		2:464	5/29/05	2	2k	Clark (2k)	4:217
8/10/04	1	1c		9:37	6/2/05	1	1k		4:244
8/16/04	1	1c		9:40	6/3/05	3	3k		9:162
8/17/04	2	2c		2:487	6/4/05	1	1k		4:256
8/22/04	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	9:42	6/5/05	1	1c		9:163
8/23/04	1	1c		2:503	6/8/05	1	1k		9:165
9/1/04	1	1k	Drouillard (1k)	3:39	6/12/05	1	1c		9:166
9/6/04	1	1k	Colter (1k)	9:55	6/18/05	1	1k	Clark (1k)	4:308
9/8/04	2	2c	Drouillard (2c)	9:56	6/20/05	1	1k		9:171
9/13/04	4	4c	Drouillard (4c)	3:69	6/30/05	2	2k	Drouillard (2k)	4:344
9/14/04	3	3c	Drouillard (3c)	9:59	7/4/05	1	1k		4:362
9/17/04	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	9:61	7/7/05	1	1c		9:180
9/21/04	1	1k		3:96	7/26/05	1	1k		4:430
9/22/04	1	1k		3:101	8/1/05	1	1k		9:193
10/28/04	2	2c	Drouillard (2c)	3:208	8/11/05	1	1k		5:71
11/3/04	2	2c		3:226	8/18/05	1	1c		5:118
1804 total	38	34c, 4k			8/19/05	1	1c		5:119
4/9/05	1	1c		9:128	8/20/05	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	5:126
4/11/05	2	2c	Drouillard (1c)	9:129	8/25/05	1	1k	Shannon (1k)	5:167
4/12/05	1	1k	Drouillard (1k)	4:25	9/10/05	1	1k		5:197
4/13/05	3	3c		4:30	1805 total ⁴	105	36c, 69k		
4/16/05	1	1c	Colter (1c)	9:132	1/7/06	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	6:174
4/17/05	3	3c		4:48	2/3/06	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	9:269-270
4/18/05	1	1c		4:51	2/9/06	1	1k	Drouillard (1k)	6:290
4/19/05	2	1c, 1k	Clark (1k)	4:54 & 9:134	2/14/06	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	6:307
4/20/05	6	2c, 4k	Drouillard (1k)	4:56 & 9:134	4/4/06	1	1c	Drouillard (1c)	9:286
4/21/05	2	2k		4:57	4/30/06	1	1k	Drouillard (1k)	7:188
4/22/05	2	2k	Clark (1k), Drouillard (1k)	9:136	5/1/06	1	1k	Drouillard (1k)	7:196
4/23/05	3	2c, 1k		9:136	5/2/06	1	1k		9:303
4/24/05	1	1c		9:137	7/6/06	1	1k		8:94
4/26/05	1	1k	Clark (1k)	4:73	7/7/06	2	2k	Drouillard (2k)	8:96
4/27/05	1	1k	Clark (1k)	4:79	7/12/06	3	3k	Collins (2k)	8:178
4/28/05	1	1c		9:139	7/13/06	1	1k	Colter (1k)	9:336
4/30/05	1	1k		9:140	7/17/06	2	2k		8:114
5/1/05	2	2k		9:141	7/27/06	3	1c, 2k	LaBiche (2k) Bratton (1c)	8:266
5/2/05	4	4k	Clark (1k), Drouillard (3k)	4:102	7/28/06	1	1k		9:342
5/3/05	1	1k		9:142	7/30/06	2	2k		8:141
5/6/05	3	2c, 1k		4:118	7/31/06	2	2k		10:261
5/7/05	7 ³	2c, 5k		9:144	8/1/06	2	2k	Colter (1k)	9:344
5/8/05	4	4k	Clark (1k)	4:126	8/12/06	31	31k	Colter and Collins (31k)	9:348
5/10/05	5	5k		4:136	1806 total	58	5c, 53k		
5/11/05	3	2c, 1k	Clark (1k)	9:146					
5/12/05	1	1k	Clark (1k)	9:147					

Expedition Total = 201 beaver taken (75 caught, 126 killed)

occurred at Fort Clatsop. Lewis and Clark attempted to trade with a Chinook for his robe of two sea otter pelts. After several failed attempts they traded a belt of blue beads worn by Sacagawea.⁴⁰

By May of 1806, trade goods were all but depleted and food was in short supply. One determined expedition member dismantled the chain from one of his traps and fashioned sewing awls from the iron links. Blacksmith tools cached the previous summer were yet to be unearthed, so the awls likely were made using a file. Ultimately, the awls were traded for "a good supply of roots and bread ..." from the Nez Perce chief, Broken Arm.⁴¹

Before their journey's end, the Corps of Discovery would witness the growing fervor for trapping and fur trading among their fellow countrymen. A day prior to reconnecting with Lewis's party below the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers in August of 1806, Clark met Joseph Dickson and Forrest Hancock who were on a trapping expedition. They had some "20 odd good traps" and a number of skins cached in storage.⁴² Continuing upstream, Dickson and Hancock met Lewis's party the following morning. Lewis gave them some gunpowder and a few other small articles and regaled them with tales of abundant beaver in the regions from which he had just returned. While the parties discussed the latest news, including Clark's position just downstream, Colter and Collins arrived in camp from their 10-day scout trip during which they harvested 31 beaver.⁴³

Three days later, Dickson and Hancock invited Colter to join their trapping excursion, promising to furnish him with extra traps. Colter persuaded the captains to release him from military duty so he could join the trappers. The officers "settled" with Colter and supplied him with powder, lead and other necessary items.⁴⁴ Perhaps Colter took the furs he had collected on the expedition with him or maybe he used them to barter with former colleagues for extra articles to complete his outfit. Three years later, in 1809, Colter sold a set of beaver traps—most likely the traps taken with him upon separation from the Corps of Discovery—to Thomas James for \$120.⁴⁵

Dickson and Hancock obviously were not the first trappers or traders the expedition encountered on their journey—nor were they the last. Soon after Colter departed, the corps met François Rivet. They met Henry Delaunay two weeks later, and members of the expedition traded beaver skins for hats. The following week they met a party with goods owned by René Auguste Chouteau. A few miles downriver they met Robert McClellan's party, and a week shy of St. Louis, the Robidoux party. Of all the traders

and trappers they met, Clark only mentioned questioning Robidoux about the validity of his license.⁴⁶

These parties were the vanguard of many soon to follow. Thomas James said Lewis and Clark's "... accounts of the wild region, with those of their companions, first excited a spirit of trafficking adventure among the young men of the West."⁴⁷ Meriwether Lewis could not have known that this statement in his report to Thomas Jefferson—"The Missouri and all it's branches from the Cheyenne upwards abound more in beaver and Common Otter, than any other streams on earth ..."⁴⁸—would inspire future exploration and western expansion. The region in which they found beaver during their travels would see incredible trapping activity during the years ahead as the fur trade advanced throughout the West.

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NOTES

¹ Paul C. Phillips, *The Fur Trade* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), Vol. II, p. 246. John T. Scharf, *History of St. Louis* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts and Co., 1883), p. 335. The derivation of the word "plew" is unclear. It probably comes from the French word *poilu*, meaning "hairy," or *peau*, meaning "skin."

² Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 2, p. 344. Clark's entry for July 3, 1804. All quotations or references to journal entries in the ensuing text are from Moulton.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 45. Lewis's entry for April 16, 1805.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 189-190. Lewis's entry for May 24, 1805.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 52. Ordway's entry for September 1, 1804.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 14. Lewis's entry for July 30, 1805.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. 8, p. 177. Clark's entry for July 12, 1806.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vols. 4 and 5. Entries for July 18, 1805, to August 16, 1805.

⁹ Burton Harris, *John Colter, His Years in the Rockies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 36.

¹⁰ Moulton, Vol. 4, pp. 53-54. Lewis's entry for April 19, 1805.

¹¹ Carl P. Russell, *Firearms, Traps & Tools of the Mountain Men* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 128. Harris, p. 36.

¹² Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 51. Lewis's entry for April 18, 1805.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 196. Lewis's entry for May 1, 1806.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 100. Lewis's entry for May 2, 1805. He wrote

about whale blubber on January 5, 1806. Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 166.

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 20. Lewis's entry for April 10, 1805.

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. 9, pp. 128-130. Ordway's entries for April 10-13, 1805.

¹⁷ Ibid., Vols. 4 and 9. Information on beaver harvests is included in entries by Ordway, Lewis and Clark from April 11, 1805, to July 5, 1805.

¹⁸ See chart on p. 21 for a list of beaver caught and killed by date.

¹⁹ Raymond D. Burroughs, *The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 115.

²⁰ Leandra Z. Holland, *Feasting and Fasting With Lewis and Clark* (Emigrant, Montana: Old Yellowstone Publishing, 2003), pp. 220-221.

²¹ Moulton, Vol. 9, pp. 166 and 342. Ordway's entries for June 11, 1805, and July 28, 1806.

²² See chart on p. 21 for a list of beaver caught and killed, with notation of specific harvests by Drouillard, Colter and Bratton.

²³ Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 153.

²⁴ Clark's entry for November 3, 1804, noted that a trap was lost at Fort Mandan, Moulton, Vol. 3, p. 227; Ordway's entry for January 18, 1805, mentioned the wolf incident, Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 110; Ordway's entry for April 14, 1805, mentioned the otter, Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 131; Ordway wrote that Drouillard had two traps on January 7, 1806, Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 265; Ordway wrote on July 28, 1806, "found all except 4 Steel traps which were put in carsh by themselves & we could not find the place.", Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 342; Lewis wrote on July 28, 1806, that three traps (not four as Ordway claimed) weren't found when they returned to the cache, Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 138. The traps still may be buried along the Missouri River.

²⁵ Ibid., Vol. 9, pp. 267-268. Ordway wrote that they were out from January 19-24.

²⁶ Paul Russell Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), p. 132.

²⁷ Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 51. Lewis's entry for April 18, 1805.

²⁸ The prize likely went to the owner of the trap attached to the hind leg of the beaver. A key to successful trapping is the placement of the trap in relation to the castoreum-scented stick used for bait. For a hind-leg set, the bait is placed the distance of an animal's nose to its back paw from the trap. When the beaver stops to sniff the bait, its hind foot steps on the trap's trigger. For a front-leg set, the distance from trap to bait is reduced accordingly. The man who used the hind-leg set likely put his trap in the water first and, thus, deserved the pelt. If the reverse were true, the second trapper surely would have stepped on a trap set to catch a forepaw in order to get his own hind-leg set into place. That the second trapper had no idea the first trap was there is evidence that little, if any, instruction was given to the men trapping beaver.

²⁹ Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 350. Clark's entry for July 5, 1804.

³⁰ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 166. Lewis's entry for May 19, 1805.

³¹ Radclyffe A. Dugmore, *The Romance of the Beaver* (London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1914), p. 211.

³² Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 95. Lewis's entry for July 7, 1806.

³³ Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2 volumes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), Vol. 1, pp. 234-236.

³⁴ Moulton, Vol. 5, p. 71. Lewis's entry for August 11, 1805.

³⁵ Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 161. Lewis's entry for January 2, 1806.

³⁶ Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 265. Ordway's entry for January 7, 1806.

³⁷ Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 131. Ordway's entry for April 14, 1805.

³⁸ Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 104. Ordway's entry for December 16, 1804.

³⁹ Ibid., Vol. 9, pp. 106 and 110. Ordway's entries for December 29, 1804, and January 21, 1805.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 72-73. Lewis and Clark's entries for November 20, 1805.

⁴¹ Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 284. Lewis's entry for May 24, 1806.

⁴² Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 348. Ordway's entry for August 12, 1806.

⁴³ Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 157. Lewis's entry for August 12, 1806; and Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 348. Ordway's entry for same date.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 302. Clark's entry for August 15, 1806.

⁴⁵ Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, 1953, reprint of the 1864 edition), p. 29.

⁴⁶ Moulton, Vol. 8. Clark wrote about meeting each of the parties listed: Rivet, pp. 311 and 316, n.1, on August 21, 1806; Delaunay, pp. 351 and 352, n.1, September 6, 1806; Chouteau's party, p. 357 and Robert McClellan, p. 358, n. 1, September 12, 1806; and Robidoux, p. 362, n. 1, September 16, 1806.

⁴⁷ James, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Jackson, Vol. 1, p. 321.

NOTES FROM CHART ON PAGE 21

¹ Volume and page references are for Moulton, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*. Most beaver caught and killed are described by more than one journal keeper. References are to the first entry on each date, unless a subsequent entry provides more detailed information.

² Journal keepers often used words such as "some" or "several," which make it impossible to determine exactly how many beaver members of the expedition caught and killed. For example, "we saw many beaver, some which the party shot." Lewis's entry for May 4, 1805. Vol. 4, p. 108. Also, on May 18, 1805, Clark wrote, "Some of the party Shoot & Catch beaver every day & night." Vol. 4, p. 165.

³ On occasion, various members recorded different counts on the same day. On May 7, 1805, Ordway reported that five beaver were killed and two caught. Clark wrote, "8 beaver ... killed to day." Vol. 4, p. 123. Lewis wrote, "killed ... 8 beaver." Vol. 4, p. 121. This chart includes Ordway's count because it includes the most specific information.

⁴ A list of animals, apparently taken for food from March to August of 1805, appears in the third and final notebook of John Ordway's journal. It includes three beaver on July 12, and one on July 16, 28, 20, 31 and August 1. These eight beaver are not recorded in the chart. Vol. 9, pp. 311-312. Ordway's entry for May 16, 1806.

JOHN NEWMAN: “A MAN OF UNCOMMON ACTIVITY AND BODILY STRENGTH”

“Mutinous” activity put an early end to his service with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but he later enjoyed a successful fur trade career in the shadow of their 1804-1805 winter encampment

BY RICHARD K. STENBERG

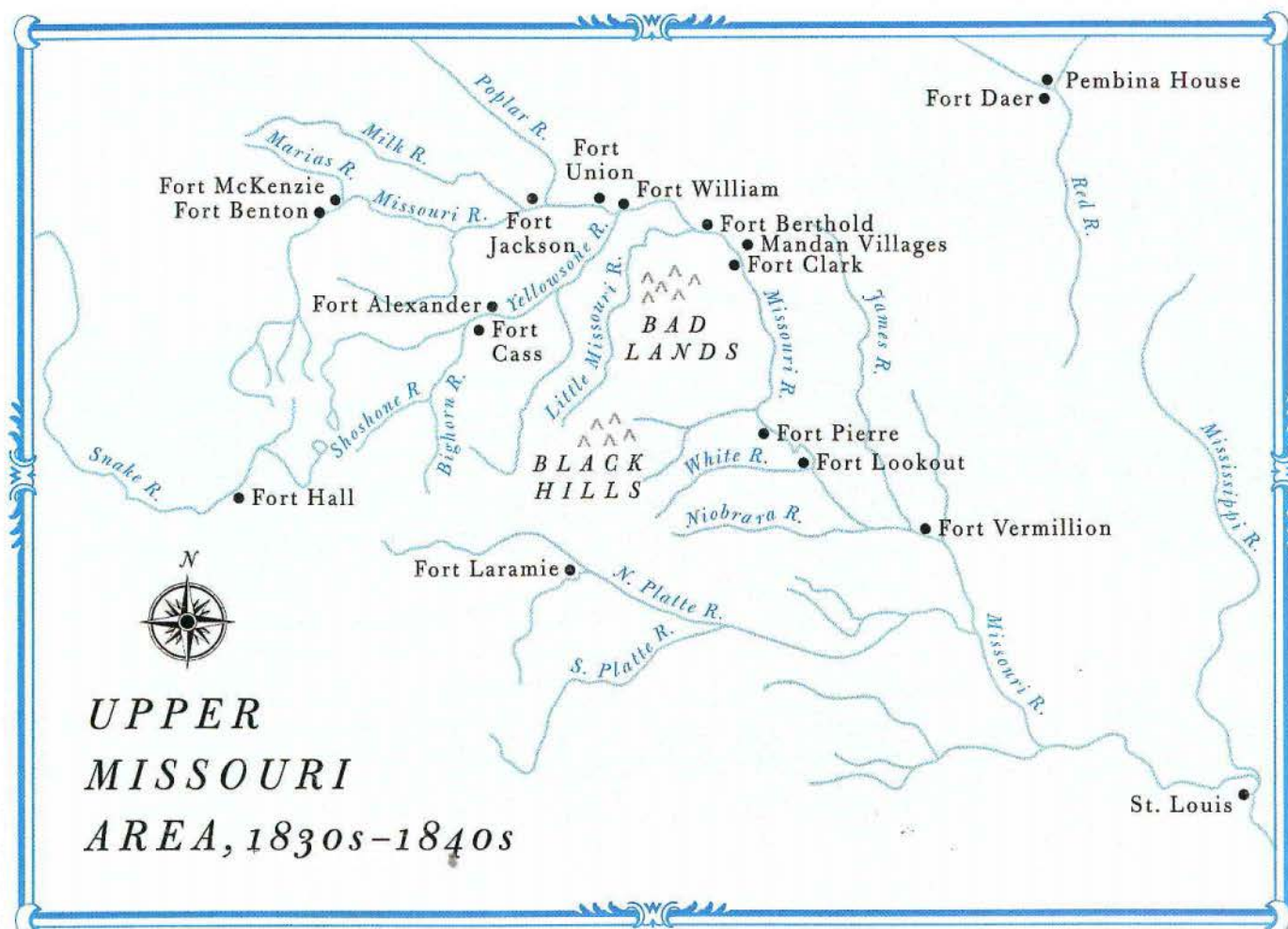
John Newman, aside from a few entries noting his involvement hunting for the Lewis and Clark Expedition during its ascent of the Missouri River in 1804, primarily is remembered for his court martial and subsequent expulsion from the Corps of Discovery.

Relatively little is known about the man who was born, probably in 1785, to Walter and Catherine Newman in Pennsylvania.¹ His family migrated from Pennsylvania to Virginia, then on to Licking County, Ohio.² In 1803, Meriwether Lewis recruited him from Captain Daniel Bissell's infantry company at Fort Massac.³ He served the expedition well throughout its first months on the Missouri River, however William Clark noted on October 13, 1804, that Private Newman was “Confined for Mutinous expressions.”⁴ The “Orders” entry for October 13 indicates that a court martial was convened to try Newman on the charge of “having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature; the same having a tendency not only to destroy every principle of military discipline, but also to alienate the affections of the individuals composing this Detachment to their

officers, and disaffect them to the service for which they have been so sacredly and solemnly engaged.”⁵

What exactly Newman said, no journalist ever recounted. Newman pled not guilty to the charges, but the court unanimously found him guilty and sentenced him to receive 75 lashes upon his bare back. Additionally, he was to be “discarded,” assigned to the mess and crew of the red pirogue and made a laborer. The commanding officers further directed that “he shall be exposed to such drudgeries as they may think proper from time to time with a view to the general relief of the detachment.”⁶ The punishment, carried out the next day on a sand bar in the Missouri River, upset an Arikara Chief⁷ who witnessed the flogging.⁸

For the remainder of the time the Corps of Discovery spent in present-day North Dakota, from their arrival at the Knife River earth lodge villages on October 25, 1804, and through their winter sojourn at Fort Mandan, Newman was engaged as a common laborer. He attempted to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of Lewis and Clark. Newman's efforts to get back in the good graces



of the captains failed. As the permanent party resumed its journey up the Missouri on April 7, 1805, Newman was directed to return to St. Louis on the keelboat commanded by Corporal Richard Warfington.⁹ Jean Baptiste Lepage signed on to replace him in the permanent party.

Following the expedition's return to St. Louis, Meriwether Lewis sent Secretary of War Henry Dearborn on January 15, 1807, a list of men who had accompanied him to the Pacific Ocean, requesting they be compensated properly by the federal government. After recounting the court martial and the punishments administered to Newman, Lewis noted:

The conduct of this man previous to this period had been generally correct, and the zeal he afterwards displayed for the benefit of the service was highly meritorious. In the course of the winter while at Fort Mandan, from an ardent wish to atone for the crime which he had committed at an unguarded moment, he exerted himself on every occasion to become usefull. This disposition induced him to expose himself too much to the intense cold of that climate, and on a hunting excursion he had his hands and feet severely frozen with which he

suffered extreme pain for some weeks. Having recovered from this accident by the 1st of April 1805, he asked forgiveness for what had passed, and begged that I would permit him to continue with me through the voyage, but deeming it impolitic to relax from the sentence, altho' he stood acquitted in my mind, I determined to send him back, which was accordingly done. Since my return I have been informed that he was extremely serviceable as a hunter on the voyage to St. Louis and that the boat on several occasions owed her safety in a great measure to his personal exertions, being a man of uncommon activity and bodily strength.

Lewis went on to note that it would be proper to give one-third of the bonus awarded Jean Baptiste Lepage to John Newman for his service prior to his court martial. Ultimately Newman was awarded \$62.83 1/3 cent and a 320-acre land warrant.¹¹

There is little documentation recording Newman's activities and whereabouts from 1805 to 1832. What does exist leads to speculation. William Clark apparently knew he was alive in the late 1820s. He included Newman's name in the list of expedition members he recorded in his

1825-1828 cash book and journal.¹² Newman apparently farmed in Missouri, but there is no evidence to indicate he ever sold his land warrant. His marriage on July 5, 1832, to Olympia Dubreuil in St. Louis has been written about, though no children are known to have resulted from this union.¹³

The fur trade was a financially tempting occupation for many and like other alumni of the Corps of Discovery, John Newman was attracted to it in the upper Missouri River Valley.¹⁴ The first Americans the expedition encountered on its return from the Pacific Ocean in 1806 were trappers Forrest Hancock and Joseph Dickson (who recruited John Colter to return upriver with them). They were the first of many enticed upriver by potential profits from trading and trapping that Lewis and Clark met while descending the Missouri on their return to St. Louis. In his letter to Thomas Jefferson after returning on September 23, 1806, Lewis noted the many trade groups that they had met and wrote, "... we are to regard the trade of the Missouri as an object of importance to the United States."¹⁵

Newman joined the largest and most active of the fur companies of that period, the American Fur Company,¹⁶ which enabled him to return up the Missouri 30 years after he first had done so with Lewis and Clark. He traveled through present-day South Dakota and later into North Dakota, arriving at Fort Clark. The American Fur Company maintained the fort, built in 1831 and named in honor of General William Clark, as a trading post. François Chardon was in charge of Fort Clark, which was constructed near the Knife River villages not far from where Fort Mandan once stood. In very detailed journal entries Chardon recorded events at Fort Clark, including the activities of John Newman.

The initial meeting of Newman and Chardon occurred November 2, 1834. Chardon and several companions were hunting when "Proceeding along the river to find a good camping place, we were hailed from the bushes, *Hollow!* Hollow was the answer, and out rushed one of the largest Kind of Americans, with his rifle in his hand, ready to drop one of us—however, We camped with him that night—his name was John Newman, a trapper ..."¹⁷ Newman had left Bad River in present-day South Dakota the previous September.

On November 6, Newman and William May were sent to Fort Pierre, but Newman returned to Fort Clark by February 4, 1835.¹⁸ From that point forward, Chardon frequently recorded that Newman was hunting and trapping, often with William May.

In June of 1836, Newman acquired a "daughter of the country"¹⁹ by marrying into the Mandans. However, Chardon noted on July 2, 1836, that "Newmas wife run off, he went to the Village armed like a Don Quixotte, determined to bring her back dead or alive brot her and the whole family down, had a talk when she concluded to stay at least one night more—" ²⁰ It did not last, however. The next day Chardon wrote, "Newmas wife has now left him positively he seems to think that marrying here, is not the thing it is cracked up to be. only married 15 days and his wife deserted him—" ²¹

Newman hunted beaver and other game animals frequently and in some cases great distances away from Fort Clark, usually in the environs of the Little Missouri River Valley and its tributaries in western North Dakota. On May 22, 1837, Chardon wrote, "Newman arrived from Beaver hunting—he made a tolerable hunt sixty four skins, he was robbed of his gun by a war party of Rees and Gros Ventres on the Little Misso. out five days without eating."²²

In late June of 1837, about the same time that the Smallpox pandemic of 1837 was starting to spread, Newman and another trapper departed Fort Clark en route to the magnificently built American Fur Company post of Fort Union.²³ They planned to trap nearby and into present-day central Montana on the Mussellshell River. Their return was not described, but Chardon recorded on September 27, 1837, that "Newman started out to make a second hunt on Powder River."²⁴ Chardon does not mention him again until January of 1838 when Newman went to Fort Clark looking for two mules that had wandered away from the "meat camp."²⁵

Throughout the spring of 1838, Chardon made numerous mentions of Newman as he traveled back and forth between the "meat camp" and Fort Clark. On March 2, 1838, Chardon lamented, "Newman and his wife, after six days quarreling and Pouting with each other had a separation, he started down to the Ree Camp in quest of an other. o may success attend him, in the Wife line, it is his third since his fall hunt—" ²⁶ That plaintive journal entry was followed on March 3 by "Newman and his Wife Came back from the Ree Village, haveing settled all difficulties amicably—" ²⁷

On March 25, 1838, Newman once again left Fort Clark to start beaver hunting.²⁸ François Chardon made only one more entry regarding him, dated July 1, 1838. "The Indians reports the Death of John Newman who left here the 25th March to Make his spring hunt, he was Killed by the Yanctons."²⁹ Neither the location in



Artist Karl Bodmer traveled to America with Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian in 1832 and after a journey across the country, arrived in St. Louis. There, Maximilian met with William Clark, who suggested he go up the Missouri River to visit the Mandan Indians. Following Clark's advice and armed with his maps, Maximilian and Bodmer arrived at Fort Clark on June 19, 1833, continuing their journey to Fort Union and into present-day Montana. In the fall of that year, they returned to Fort Clark, where they spent the winter and Bodmer sketched and painted the people and landscapes that endure to this day.

present-day North Dakota nor the exact date was determined. His lamentable end came in the region where, 33 years before, Newman had tried to rehabilitate his standing in the eyes of Captain Meriwether Lewis.

Richard K. Stenberg is an assistant professor of history at Williston State College where he has taught a specialty class on Lewis and Clark for 27 semesters. He also has completed 14 summer seasons with the National Park Service as an interpretive ranger at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site.

NOTES

¹ LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, 10 volumes (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-1972), Charles G. Clarke, "John Newman," Vol. 4, p. 299.

² Ibid.

³ Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, second edition, 1978), Vol. 1, p. 372.

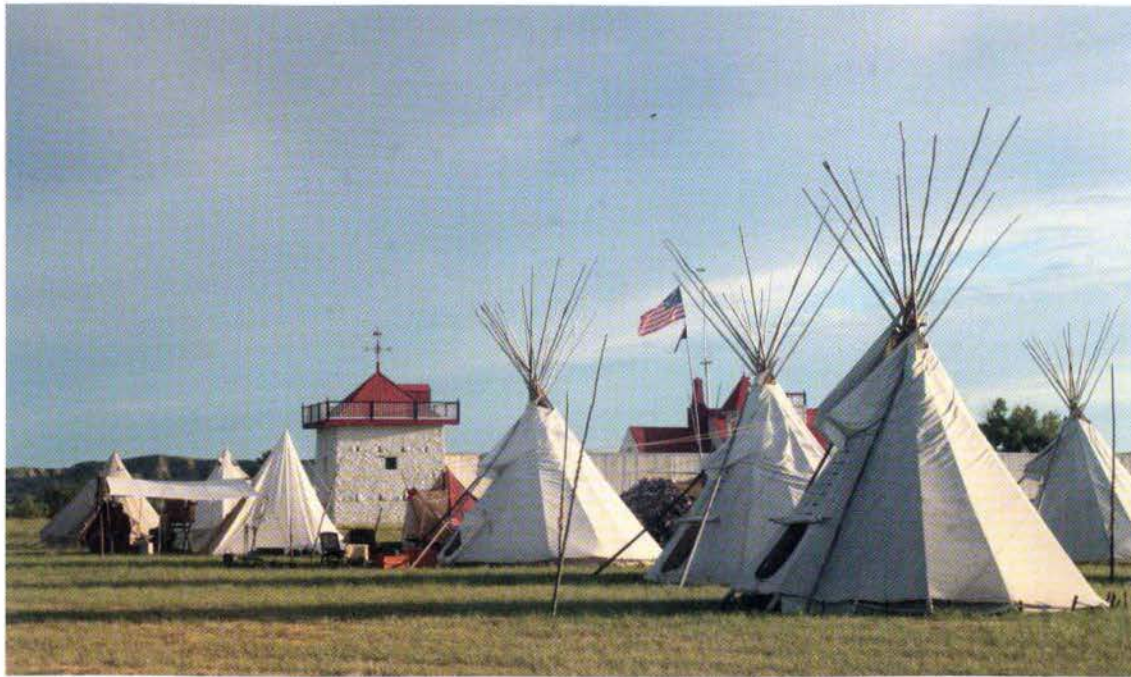
⁴ Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 3, p. 167. Clark's entry for October 13, 1804. Moulton wrote, "The Incident may actually have occurred on October 12, since Ordway notes Newman's confinement in his entry for that day." Vol. 3, p. 171, n. 1.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 170. Orders of Lewis and Clark on October 13, 1804.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 170-171. Orders of Lewis and Clark on October 13, 1804.

⁷ This possibly was Eagle Feather, Arketarnashar or Chief of the Town, the chief who died on his trip to Washington in 1806.

⁸ Moulton, Vol. 3, p. 172.



COURTESY OF FORT UNION TRADING POST NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE COLLECTION

The American Fur Company built Fort Union in 1828 for the specific purpose of trading with the northern Plains tribes. This trade business continued until 1867 making it the longest-lasting American fur trading post. George Catlin, Karl Bodmer and John James Audubon were among its well-known visitors during the fur trade period. Today, Fort Union hosts an annual rendezvous to commemorate the upper Missouri River fur trade era.

⁹ For more on Richard Warfington and the return of the keelboat to St. Louis, see Trent Strickland, "The Corps of Discovery's Forgotten Sergeant," *We Proceeded On*, Vol. 31, No. 1, (February 2005), pp. 10-13.

¹⁰ Jackson, Vol. 1, pp. 365-366.

¹¹ Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 378 and 380-382.

¹² Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 638-639.

¹³ Clarke, pp. 301-302.

¹⁴ Corps members George Drouillard and John Potts became involved with the fur trade and were killed by the Blackfeet in the Three Forks area of Montana while employed with Manuel Lisa's St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. John Colter almost suffered a similar fate. He was captured, stripped naked and forced to run for his life, and he escaped. Toussaint Charbonneau and René Jusseume, both hired by Lewis and Clark at the Knife River Indian Villages as interpreters, were involved prior to and after the expedition in the fur trade. John Collins, Pierre Cruzatte, François Labiche, Jean Baptiste Lepage, Peter Weiser and William Clark also were involved to varying degrees. Meriwether Lewis's brother Reuben was involved with the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company.

¹⁵ Jackson, Vol. 1, p. 322.

¹⁶ John Jacob Astor founded the American Fur Company in New York on April 6, 1808. Astor allied himself with a number of very capable field managers, especially the Chouteau family of St. Louis, who operated the company's Western Department. Astor withdrew from the fur trade on June 1, 1834, and sold the Western Department to Pratte, Chouteau & Company. In 1838, it became Pierre Chouteau, Jr. & Company, but it operated under the name American Fur Company until 1864.

¹⁷ Annie H. Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839 Descriptive of Life on the Upper Missouri; of a Fur Trader's Experiences Among the Mandans, Gros Ventres, and Their Neighbors; of the Ravages of the Small-Pox Epidemic of 1837*

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books reprint, 1997), p. 13. François Chardon's account often is referred to simply as *Chardon's Journal*.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 13 and 22.

¹⁹ According to the "custom of the country" many men who were involved in the fur trade acquired Native American women as partners or "wives." For a more in-depth view of this practice see Walter O'Meara, *Daughters of the Country: The Women of the Fur Traders and Mountain Men* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968); or Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) for a more recent work that focuses on the Hudson's Bay Company.

²⁰ Abel, p. 70.

²¹ Ibid., p. 71.

²² Ibid., p. 113.

²³ The American Fur Company established Fort Union in 1828, three miles above the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers in western North Dakota. It operated for 39 years, until 1867 when the U.S. Army acquired it and tore it down, using salvageable materials to expand Fort Buford three miles to the east. Construction of Fort Buford began in June of 1866. Today at Fort Union, a unit of the National Park Service since 1966, there is a reconstructed fort on the exact site, built after the National Park Service conducted extensive archaeological work.

²⁴ Abel, p. 138.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 146.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 151.

²⁷ Ibid. Chardon had written in his journal on February 25, "Newman and his wife separated-."

²⁸ Ibid., p. 154.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 166.



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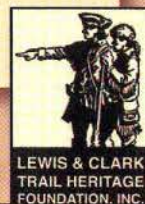
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Keepers of the story, stewards of the trail

Brooke to serve as president in 2008-2009; three elected to board of directors

James Brooke of Colorado Springs, Colo., has been elected president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. His one-year term began October 1, 2008. Chris Howell was voted president elect and Margaret Gorski, vice president. Clay Smith was re-elected treasurer and Larry McClure will serve a second year as secretary. Jane Randol Jackson, Stephenie Ambrose-Tubbs and Dick Prestholdt were elected to three-year terms on the board of directors.

Brooke steps in to lead the Foundation during a transitional phase as the organization continues its \$5 million endowment campaign. He has served on the board since 2005 and is chairman of the Third Century Campaign. He discovered the Foundation following a float trip on the Missouri River through the White Cliffs, where he instantly knew he wanted to be a part of preserving the legacies of the Corps of Discovery.

Brooke completed 20 years of naval service as a Navy pilot in 1991, and since that time has worked in the aerospace industry overseeing engineering programs in the United States and abroad. He recently served as senior director of Space and Strategic Operations for ARINC Engineering Services overseeing the program performance, finances and operations for 150 people in 13 locations throughout the western United States.

He received his bachelor's degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and holds a Ph.D. in U.S. diplomatic history and national security affairs from Tufts University. Brooke has lived in Colorado Springs for more than seven years.



Brooke

Executive Committee

Chris Howell has served on the board since 2005 and is chairman of the Foundation's Diversity Advisory Committee. He is deputy director and chief financial officer of the Kansas Arts Commission. He works to promote historically and culturally accurate education and arts education programs and projects about Native American tribes, specifically the tribes located in Kansas. He also promotes and supports the Native American arts industry in Kansas.



Howell

Howell serves as the Kansas Arts Commission's liaison to the four resident tribes of Kansas: the Prairie Band Potawatomi, the Iowa Tribe of Kansas, the Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri and the Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas. He is a graduate of Emporia State University in Emporia, Kansas, and lives in Topeka.

Margaret Gorski is the tourism and interpretation program leader for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service's Northern Region based in Missoula, Montana. She has worked for nearly 30 years in various assignments in three national forests and three national parks in the West. Her experiences have included



Gorski

working as a district ranger, district recreation staff, recreation planner, landscape architect and seasonal park ranger-naturalist. She served for eight years as the Forest Service's Lewis and Clark Bicentennial national field coordinator, directing the agency's strategic planning for and involvement in the national bicentennial commemoration.

She has a master's degree in landscape architecture from the University of California, Berkeley and a bachelor's degree in forest resources outdoor recreation from the University of Washington.

Clay Smith is past president of the Portage Route Chapter and served as chairman of the Foundation's Finance Committee. He also served as chairman of the Foundation's 2008 annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana. He has a bachelor's degree in science education from Oregon State University, a master's degree in business administration from Northeastern University and a Ph.D. in college student services administration from Oregon State University.



Smith

He retired as a lieutenant colonel from the U.S. Air Force in 1984 after serving 22 years. He worked as vice president for enrollment, management and student services at Saint Martin's College in Lacey, Washington, for seven years before taking the same position at the University of Great Falls in 1998. He retired in 2002 and resides in Great Falls.

Larry McClure, a retired educator, is interested in how schools can incorporate the Lewis and Clark story into learning activities, and has promoted teacher awareness as a board member of the Foundation's Oregon Chapter and on the Foundation's behalf.



McClure

In 2005, he served on the Foundation's local coordinating committee for its annual membership meeting hosted by the Oregon and Washington chapters

in Portland, Oregon, and Vancouver, Washington. He was elected to the Foundation's board of directors in 2006. For 16 months, he wrote a local weekly column summarizing Corps of Discovery activities and area bicentennial events. He volunteers as director of the Tualatin Heritage Center in his hometown in Oregon.

Board of Directors

Jane Randol Jackson has served on the board since 2007. She is the retired director of the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center, and a docent and former chairwoman at the Red House Interpretive Center in Cape Girardeau. She is the founder and president of the foundation's Cape Girardeau Chapter, and is chairwoman of the Missouri Lewis and Clark Network, which replaced the Missouri Bicentennial Commission.



Jackson

Jackson is chairwoman of the Foundation's Monetary Grants Committee and is a strong advocate for and supporter of completing the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail to include sites and segments from Monticello to Camp River Dubois. She serves on the Foundation's Trail Completion Committee.

She has a master's degree in French from Middlebury College and a bachelor's degree in education from Southeast Missouri State University.

Stephenie Ambrose-Tubbs is an author, historian and national speaker. She co-authored *The Lewis and Clark Companion; An Encyclopedic Guide to the Voyage of Discovery* in 2003. The University of Nebraska Press recently released her second book, *Why Sacagawea Deserves the Day Off and Other Lessons from the Lewis & Clark Trail*. She lectures across the country about her experiences and observations



Ambrose-Tubbs

on the trail, which she first followed in 1976 with her father, author Stephen Ambrose. She works with citizen groups to preserve and protect the trail and adjoining wilderness areas. She serves on the boards of Montana Preservation Alliance, the American Prairie Foundation, Friends of Montana PBS and the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Foundation. She serves on the Foundation's Trail Stewardship and Trail Completion committees. She has served on the Foundation board since 2005. She lives in Helena, Montana.

Dick Prestholdt is the owner and operator of a photography company after retiring from a 30-year career in human resources and benefits consulting. He has a bachelor's degree in economics and an M.B.A. in labor management relations from Pace University in New York City.

He developed the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Calendar series, which re-capped what occurred 200 years ago to the day throughout the bicentennial. After reading *Undaunted Courage* and Lewis and Clark's journals, he became "hooked." Prestholdt joined the Foundation after learning about it while photographing the trail for his calendars. He also joined the Philadelphia Chapter and is in his third year as chapter president. He is a member of the Discovery Expedition of St. Charles and spent 40 weeks on the trail with the group during the bicentennial educating children and adults about the expedition. He serves on the Foundation's Membership Committee.



Prestholdt

Prestholdt lives in Bridgewater, New Jersey.

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Don't Miss Out!

Awards at 40th annual meeting recognize and honor members' achievements

The Foundation honored three individuals and the Lone Star and Rochejhone chapters during its 40th annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana.

Don Peterson of Great Falls and Rose Oleson of Townsend, Montana, were honored with the Foundation's 2008 Distinguished Service Award, which is presented annually to a Foundation member who has made an outstanding contribution toward furthering the purpose and objectives of the Foundation. As a longtime member of the Foundation and its Portage Route Chapter, Peterson truly is a keeper of the story. He has a clear understanding of the story and the trail in Montana. As a volunteer, Peterson generously shares his knowledge with Foundation officers, staff and members, and scholars, tour groups and educators.

Peterson has served as an officer, board member and grant writer for the Portage Route Chapter. He coordinates community events, chapter publications and programs, and as a member of the Foundation, he is a respected library volunteer and meeting and tour coordinator. In his community, Peterson is known as someone who expertly interprets the expedition's portage route around the Great Falls of the Missouri River. Through the Foundation's annual meetings, the William P. Sherman Lecture Series, the local Lewis and Clark Festival and the Explore! the Big Sky Signature Event, Don has provided years of "distinguished service."

Rose Oleson is a founding member of the Foundation's Crimson Bluffs Chapter in Townsend. She has served as the chapter president for 10 years,

and in that time, has enthusiastically led the Crimson Bluffs Chapter as keepers of the story and stewards of the trail along the upper Missouri River in the Townsend Valley.

Oleson led the chapter's efforts to identify York's Island and to ensure the island's place on maps. She also directed the chapter's efforts to identify the Crimson Bluffs and to protect and preserve them for future generations. During the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, she helped the chapter set the standard for programs, hospitality and community outreach. The chapter's family-oriented events brought the story to hundreds of would-be explorers, children and educators.

Under Oleson's leadership, the chapter created a 17-point self-guided auto tour. Members carefully researched the Lewis and Clark Expedition's route through the Townsend Valley and developed 17 interpretive markers and a colorful, informative brochure. Over many years, Oleson has led the Crimson Bluffs Chapter's exemplary efforts.

The Foundation honored Claire Powell of The Woodlands, Texas, with its 2008 Youth Achievement Award. This award is presented annually to a person or group of people under age 21 who have increased knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition through outstanding composition, art, drama, photography, site preservation and enhancement or other significant contribution.

Powell used her success as a

member of the Lone Star Chapter, her enthusiasm for the story and her interest in the trail to create *Seaman Says*, a youth-oriented newsletter that initially was published as an insert in *The Orderly Report* but now is available online. The Foundation's publications, *The Orderly Report* and *We Proceeded On*, link our membership with scholarship, heritage information and events around the country. For decades, we have longed to offer a similar publication to our younger members. Leave it to one of our younger members to do just that!

Seaman Says is everything *The Orderly Report* is, but for a younger generation. The stories are historically accurate, the puzzles challenging, and the information sensitive to the people and the landscape. The future of the Foundation is in good hands with young members like Claire Powell.

The Chapter Award is presented annually to a chapter in good standing that has shown exemplary or distinguished service or promotion of the Foundation on a state, local or national level, and/or has demonstrated or accomplished an activity of merit that benefits its members, their community and the mission of the Foundation.

The Lone Star Chapter has taken the Foundation's goals of establishing creative partnerships, encouraging youth membership, and providing education and recreation opportunities to a new level. The chapter started small, creating a daylong series of Corps of Discovery-related activities for a local Wolf Cub Pack. Young Scout members earned a belt loop for their work with maps and compasses, and an academic pin for their study of American Indian lore. The chapter offered a detailed how-to program for other Foundation chapters, and then worked with the Foundation to develop a national partnership with the Boy Scouts



Oleson



Peterson



Powell



Foundation President Karen Seaberg, center, presented Judy and Steve Powell of the Lone Star Chapter with one of two 2008 Chapter Awards. The second award went to the Rochejhone Chapter based in Billings, Montana.

of America. Their efforts led to the Foundation signing a Memorandum of Understanding with the Boy Scouts of America in August 2007 at the Foundation's annual meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia. Led by the Lone Star Chapter, the Foundation now has a ground-breaking agreement with a national youth organization. In partnership, the two organizations will develop creative trail stewardship projects and activities, emphasize historical accuracy and cultural understanding and encourage youth leadership. Steve and Judy Powell of The Woodlands, Texas, accepted the chapter's award. Steve is vice president of the chapter and the couple has provided inspiration and leadership for our partnership with the Boy Scouts.

The Rochejhone Chapter has worked hard to support the Foundation's goals and objectives, to tell the story of the Corps of Discovery along the lower Yellowstone River, and to preserve and protect key sites along the trail, including Pompey's Pillar.



Hubley

The chapter generously shares its expertise in area schools, during community events and at Pompey's Pillar. Its large, museum-quality display of the

expedition's wildlife is popular, and often can be seen at Logan Airport in Billings. Children will tell you their favorite part of the chapter's exhibit is the hands-on display that allows them to make a rubbing of William Clark's signature as it appears on Pompey's Pillar.

The Rochejhone Chapter's long-standing partnership with Pompey's Pillar and its efforts to protect the pillar's historic viewshed are exemplary. Chapter President Myrtle Hubley accepted the award.

The Foundation also offers a Meritorious Achievement Award and

an Appreciation Award annually. The Awards Committee did not receive nominations in those categories in 2008.

The Meritorious Achievement Award honors a person, organization or agency for scholarly research or other significant contributions that bring to the nation a greater appreciation and awareness of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Appreciation Award recognizes a person or organization for gracious support (in deed, word or funds) given to the Foundation in support of the organization's endeavors to preserve and perpetuate the lasting historical worth of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Please take the time to think about those who deserve recognition, encourage others to do the same and submit a nomination.

Nomination forms may be downloaded from the Foundation's Web site. If you have questions, contact Awards Committee Chairman Ken Jutzi at lcthfawards@verizon.net or 805-444-3236. Nominations must be postmarked by May 1, 2009, to be considered.

—Awards Committee



The Foundation's 2008 award winners were honored at a luncheon in August at the 40th annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana. Winners are, from left, Steve Powell and Judy Powell of the Lone Star Chapter, Claire Powell, Don Peterson, Myrtle Hubley of the Rochejhone Chapter and Rose Oleson.

AWARD PHOTOS BY DAVID PIDCOCK

Foundation headquarters, Portage Route Chapter host 40th annual meeting

The Great Falls of the Missouri provided a picturesque backdrop for the Foundation's 40th annual meeting in August. More than 200 attendees of "Using Maps as Metaphors: Tracing the Journey" spent an afternoon at the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center where they toured the Foundation's headquarters and Sherman Library, explored first-class interpretive exhibits, walked to Giant Springs State Park and more.

The annual meeting opened with a reception and dinner to honor past presidents of the Foundation; 11 were in attendance. The following evening, the Portage Route Chapter hosted a pitchfork fondue at Ryan Dam on the Missouri River.

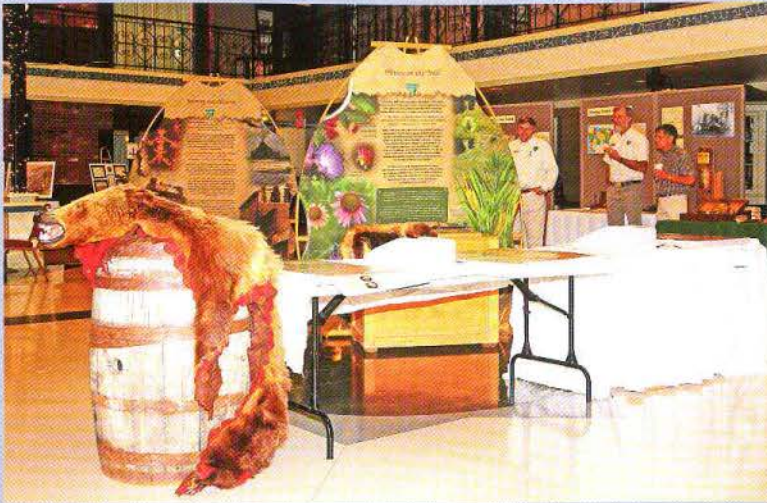
Participants had the opportunity to float the Missouri River, hike to Sulphur Spring, pass through the Gates of the Mountains, visit Fort Benton and tour the Portage Route. Pre- and post-meeting tours offered opportunities to float the White Cliffs region of the Missouri River, explore Lolo Pass, and hike to the Two Medicine Encounter Site and Camp Disappointment.

Presenters at the meeting included Dr. Jay Buckley, Dr. Jack Nisbet, George Horse Capture, Dr. John Logan Allen, Ron Ukrainetz, Lee Ebling, Norman Anderson, Rob Nurre and Dr. Harry Fritz.

Photos from top:

- Foundation members wait for the bus to deliver them to their departure spot for a float trip on the Missouri River.
- Sunshine, laughter and a quest for adventure provided the perfect setting for members to explore the Missouri River.
- A pre-meeting and a post-meeting trip to the Two Medicine Encounter Site and Camp Disappointment enticed nearly 100 Foundation members to arrive early or stay after the meeting. Here, members hike near the encounter site following an interpretive presentation by guide Larry Epstein.





DAVID PIDCOCK



KEN JUTZ

Clockwise from top left:

- The Bureau of Land Management shared its traveling interpretive exhibit with Foundation members. The Foundation is contracting with former educator Mike Crosby to bring the exhibit, created during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, to communities in Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota throughout the late fall and early winter.

- Interpreters at the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center made presentations along the river and in the center.

- A tribute to past presidents featured a presentation by Bob Gatten and the chance for 11 past presidents and several others to share remarks. Past presidents in attendance were, from left, Jim Gramentine, Bob Gatten, Gail Stensland, Ron Laycock, Barb Kubik, Gordon Julich, Cindy Orlando, Larry Epstein, Jim Peterson, Jim Fazio and David Borlaug.

- Meeting attendees spent an afternoon at the interpretive center where they had the opportunity to tour the LCTHF headquarters and library.

- Portage Route Chapter president Harry Mitchell, right, and Charis Howser, second from left, posthumously honored Stephen Ambrose with the chapter's William P. Sherman Fellow Award. Ambrose's wife, Moira Ambrose, left, and daughter Stephenie Ambrose-Tubbs accepted the award.



DAVID PIDCOCK



KEN JUTZ



COURTESY OF BOB GATTEN

Native Voices Endowment announces first five awards

FROM THE ENDANGERED LANGUAGE FUND

The Native Voices Endowment: A Lewis & Clark Expedition Bicentennial Legacy is a \$1.6 million endowment fund established to advance education and revitalization of endangered native languages for tribes along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, the Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA) and the Missouri Historical Society established a partnership between the Endangered Language Fund and the Oregon Community Foundation to manage the endowment for the continuance of native languages along the Lewis and Clark Expedition route. The endowment was funded with surcharge proceeds received by the National Council and the Missouri Historical Society from sales of the U.S. Mint's 2004 Lewis and Clark Commemorative Coins.

Advisory Committee member and Endangered Language Fund board member Darrell Kipp noted, "Of all the arts and sciences created by humankind, none equals a language, for only a language in its living entirety can describe a unique and irreplaceable world. American Indian languages are libraries of ancient knowledge. When a language dies, that wisdom is lost forever."

Think of the information about ecosystems, diplomacy, agriculture, trade and much more that could be lost forever if strong language perpetuation programs are not funded before those speakers are gone.

The Endangered Language Fund is proud to announce five projects selected in its inaugural year of grant competition. Four are research projects and one is a scholarship.

DEBBIE MARTIN, QUINULT INDIAN NATION: QUINULT LANGUAGE COMMUNITY IMMERSION PROJECT

This three-year plan will further immerse the native people of the Quinault Indian Nation in the culture, language and history of their elders. A significant feature of this project is the participation of native speakers in the execution of material development, community mobilization and linguistic instruction.

JUSTIN T. MCBRIDE, KAW NATION: WAJIPHANYIN MATERIAL SUPPORT PROJECT

In the Kaw language, Wajiphanyin is the Camp Crier, and the Kaw Nation hopes that there can be new ones. The last native speakers passed away in the 1970s, but their descendants,

who now live in Oklahoma, have begun reviving their language. They recently made use of an Administration for Native Americans grant to produce an interactive CD for language learning. Included in this package is a language-learning game.

ARCHIE BEAUVAIS, ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIBE: LAKOTA LANGUAGE PRESERVATION PROJECT

Dr. Archie Beauvais, project director, has secured the commitment of four expert Lakota language instructors who will serve as advisory board members and initial language teachers. They will recruit 20 tribal members who will teach members of their households.

JOYCE MCFARLAND, NEZ PERCE TRIBE: NEZ PERCE LANGUAGE PRESERVATION PROJECT: BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN ELDERS AND YOUTH

From 1999 to 2005, almost half of the speakers with "fair" to "very high" fluency in Nimipuutimt, the Nez Perce language, passed away. With assistance from the Endangered Language Fund, Joyce

McFarland and her colleagues from the tribal Education Department will make the language more accessible to younger speakers. Using the Nez Perce Cultural Camp as a springboard, McFarland and her team will bring their program into an after-school club for 7th to 12th graders. A youth-oriented curriculum will help bring greater fluency to students who have been using the language in various ways for years.

LARAE WILEY, (LAKES BAND OF THE COLVILLE CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF WASHINGTON STATE): SCHOLARSHIP TO STUDY NSELXCIN WITH FLUENT ELDER

The Native Voices Endowment also supports scholarships for tribal members who want to extend their knowledge of their language. Scholarships can be for work in language or linguistics at universities or, as with the present case, for master-apprentice programs. In these, an elder and a younger learner meet regularly to engage in everyday activities, with the condition that only the native language is spoken. Wiley has been teaching Nselxcin at Eastern Washington University since 2005 and she plans to use some of her time improving the curriculum that she uses in those classes. The materials include videos and computer programs.

Lewis and Clark encountered a wide array of native languages, about 57 in all, from nine different language families.



Join us as we retrace the final journey
of Meriwether Lewis from
Fort Pickering to Grinder's Stand.

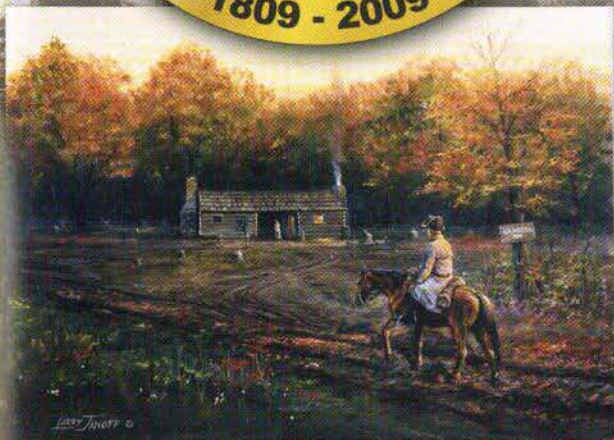


Image courtesy artist Larry Janoff

Mark your calendar for the final events
of the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial:

October 3 - 7, 2009

OLIVE BRANCH & TUPELO, MISSISSIPPI
HOHENWALD, TENNESSEE

The Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
invites you to our 41st Annual Meeting.

Check out the highlights:

Memphis Queen III Riverboat Trip
Ornamental Metal Museum at the site of Ft. Pickering
Travel the Chickasaw Trail & the Natchez Trace
Fire the Lewis Airgun
"By His Own Hand?" Debate
Optional Trip to Natchez & New Orleans,
October 8 - 10, 2009

Lewis & Clark Trail
Heritage Foundation, Inc.

P.O. Box 3434 / Great Falls, MT 59403
www.lewisandclark.org

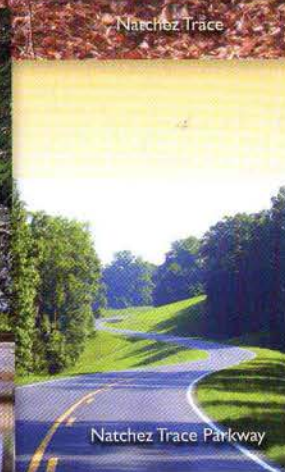
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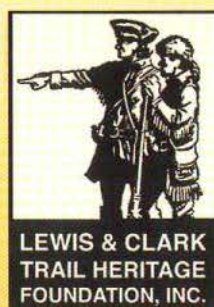
Sunken
Natchez Trace



Memphis Queen III



Natchez Trace Parkway



Meriwether Lewis Memorial